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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 January 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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COMMENT ON U.S. ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Engr-Col Iliya Dimitrov Atanasov, candidate of technical sciences and senior science associate: "U.S. Three-Stage Antimissile Defense System"; "based on materials from the Western press"]

[Text] In recent years the aggressiveness of imperialism has sharply increased. It has set out on the path of an uncontrollable arms race, especially in strategic nuclear missile weapons, which seriously threatens world peace and security.

The United States is turning increasingly greater attention to the development of certain new strategic systems such as the MX intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), the Trident missiles intended for atomic submarines, and air-, ground- and sea-based winged missiles.

At the same time the Western warmongers understand more and more clearly that with the start of any war against the USSR and the other socialist countries they will not succeed in using their armed forces with impunity.

In view of this, they have begun to take measures to strengthen various types of defense, including antimissile defense (AMD).

On the basis of the tactical and technical characteristics of the ballistic missiles in service in the various countries the Western military specialists have come to the conclusion that under modern conditions two types of AMD systems are possible: the duel type and the screening type.

The duel-type system is supposed to guarantee the acquisition, interception and destruction of attacking ballistic missiles by antimissiles. It is believed that such a setup will consist of a great number of AMD systems intended for the defense of more important industrial, administrative and military targets. This system is possible for the time being only for organizing the defense of troops against ballistic missiles with tactical and semistrategic ballistic missiles.

The screening-type system is regarded as a kind of screen, situated for the long term at a great altitude and capable of destroying all ballistic and space targets that fly past it.

The use of a great number of artificial earth satellites at various altitudes is regarded as a possible method for creating the screen.

This method attracts attention for its favorable aspects such as the destruction of missiles in the initial and intermediate leg of their trajectory and the possibility of combating them before they drop on dummy targets, but for the time being it is not feasible.

#### Duel-Type Systems

For this reason the United States is working on the creation of duel-type systems.

In the creation of AMD systems the Western specialists assume that all anti-missile-launching and guidance operations must be performed in no more than 1 minute. Otherwise the ballistic missile cannot be destroyed. Therefore the AMD system must be in constant combat readiness and fully automated and equipped antinuclearly.

The U.S. AMD system has passed through several stages.

The first generation (1957), represented by the Nike-Zeus system, had as its basic missions target interception and destruction at the greatest possible altitudes and ranges so as to preclude damage to ground targets from the explosion of the antimissile's nuclear charge.

The second generation (1966), represented by the Nike-X system, is by now regarded as the AMD territorial system of the entire country.

The third generation is represented by two systems: the Sentinel system (1967), intended for the zone defense of the principal administrative centers and individual targets such as Minuteman missile launching sites, as well as the interception of individual warheads of intercontinental ballistic missiles; and by the Safeguard system, intended for the defense of Minuteman and Titan-2 missile bases, airfields of strategic aviation, atomic submarine bases, and the National Control and Command Transmission Center in Washington. This is justified by the necessity of precluding any unexpected attack on the U.S. strategic forces.

In the judgment of the Pentagon specialists the Safeguard system has low effectiveness and high operating costs, for which reason its deployment was halted at the end of the 1970's. Work on the search for the optimum AMD system continues at an increasing pace, however.

#### "Three-Stage AMD System"

There is widespread discussion in the United States of the so-called "Three-Stage AMD System."

According to the intention of its creators, the system must guarantee the destruction of ballistic missiles on the active leg of their flight, next the

destruction of the warhead in space before their entry into the dense layers of the atmosphere and, finally, the destruction of the warheads that get through into the atmospheric leg of the flight.

This system is based on the latest achievements of electronics, laser technology, control systems and communication equipment. The production of equipment in these fields is remunerative and attracts arms makers by the large profits. The new system will be divided into stages, each having self-contained means of detecting, tracking and destroying ICBM's and their warheads.

During the first stage, detection of the launching of ballistic missiles and determination of their coordinates in flight will be accomplished by three artificial earth satellites of the (Imeus) [possibly an abbreviation, IMEUS] type. On each satellite there will be revolving infrared (IR) telescopes, television cameras, X-ray sensors and radiation detectors.

The infrared telescope detects the ballistic missiles in flight 50-60 seconds after launching from the flame of the operating engine and determines the missiles' coordinates with an accuracy within 2.5-3 km. After each scan the data of the IR telescope are transmitted to the ground information-processing center. Simultaneously transmitted are a television image of the earth's surface and information from the X-ray sensors and the radiation detectors for determination of the coordinates of nuclear explosions in enemy territory.

U-2 and TR-1 special aircraft, equipped with IR systems for the detection of ICBM's and warheads, will be a standby alternative for the (Imeus) satellites. Six U-2 aircraft will be at an altitude of about 21,000 meters and will ensure the detection of missiles in a range of up to 6000 km. Twenty such aircraft are needed for round-the-clock observation. Information will be transmitted from the aircraft to the center in real time on the medium-wave band via the ground retransmitter network.

Any missiles that are launched will be fired on by lasers, situated on special artificial earth satellites or on space ships, in accordance with the data from these two systems. For the purpose, about 400 satellites with laser oscillators capable of destroying ICBM's in the initial stage of flight at a range of several thousand kilometers will be orbited.

In the second stage, in order to detect the warheads of ICBM's at high altitudes and destroy them, the three-phase AMD system will use the ground radar of the missile-attack early warning system located in England, Greenland and Alaska, the PAR [precision approach radar] in Grand Forks, and two special missile systems. Missiles of these systems will be launched into space in accordance with data from the radar of the early warning system. On one of the missiles there will be IR sensors and radar instruments to determine the coordinates of the ICBM warheads and to guide to them special destructive elements put into space with the second missile. Destruction of warheads will be effected with conventional charges in order to avoid blinding the ground radar that is detecting and tracking the warheads.

During the third stage, ICBM warheads that have made their way into the earth's atmosphere will be destroyed by weapons for combating low-altitude targets that

are located directly at the Minuteman and MX missile bases. The acquisition of warheads and the guidance of antimissiles to them will be accomplished by radar of the MSR type, and their destruction by the Sprint antimissiles of the Safeguard system. However, for economic reasons the possibility of using the Patriot ZRK [anti-air missile system], intended for the destruction of aircraft and winged missiles by conventional charges, for these targets is now being investigated.

All elements of the "three-stage AMD system," according to the intention of its creators, must be integrated by communication links and be controlled by several standby command centers using highly efficient electronic computers.

The creation of this AMD system in the United States and its full-scale deployment in space and on earth will bring new huge profits to the monopolies, while for the people the threat of nuclear missile war will increase.

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CSO: 2200/54



MILITIA DIRECTORATE CONFERENCE CALLS FOR HIGHER DISCIPLINE

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 14 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Col Yordan Tankov, party committee secretary in People's Militia Directorate: "Party Organization and Discipline"]

[Text] Healthy party and state discipline is an important prerequisite for the successful development of party and state, of our socialist society. The forming of party discipline, being an organic fusion of ideas and deeds, is a long and complex process of education and self-education, of control and self-control, of struggle against one's own weaknesses and deficiencies, of moral molding and self-improvement. It is not accidental that in his concluding speech to the 12th BCP Congress Comrade T. Zhivkov spoke in support of the following proposition as especially important: "We must tirelessly inculcate self-discipline and fight for greater and stricter discipline--labor discipline, technological discipline, financial discipline, planning discipline."

The status of this especially important factor in our socioeconomic development is one of the principal indicators of the socialist consciousness of the individual and of the level of political, ideological, organizational and control activity of party organs and organizations.

The party organization in the DNM [People's Militia Directorate] is aware of the high responsibility of communists as executants, organizers and inculcators of healthy military discipline not only in the DNM administrations and sections, but also in the NM [People's Militia] units in the country. The party committee and the PPO [primary party organization] bureaus this year organized a number of party-political measures for strengthening discipline and for transforming it into a firm trait of character, into the style of thinking and conduct of every communist.

Questions regarding the strengthening of discipline and party work in this important area are the principal item on the agenda of almost every monthly assembly with PPO secretaries. Thus, for example, in February and April 1984 there were discussions of questions regarding its strengthening in the units and the responsibility of DNM communists, questions regarding party stringency, cases of discrepancy between service and party strictness, etc.

Also devoted to these problems was the seminar conducted by the party committee with the persons responsible for party groups, at which the work of party groups in raising service and party discipline was taken up in detail. We gave special attention in April and May 1984 to questions regarding the discipline and organization of the work of young officers. Individual conversations were conducted with officers, newly appointed and reappointed to the DNM, by 15 boards composed of members of the party committee and boards for the inspection of combat readiness and efficiency. A study was made of the work of service and party leaders with young personnel to break them in rapidly and get them established in the work of the DNM and of NM units. Interesting experience in the social commitment of young people, work with their families and children, etc., was studied and publicized in the primary party organization of UOOR [expansion unknown; possibly Upravlenieto za opazvane na obshtestveniya red, Administration for Protection of Public Order] by the secretary Colonel Manolov. Activity of diverse and rich content with newly appointed personnel is carried on in the PPO of OTO [expansion unknown; possibly Otdel po tekhnicheskoto Obuchenie, Technical Training Section]. Of special interest is the experience of this organization in individual work with each newly appointed officer, mainly after study of his service and social status and prospects for the realization of his professional and individual potential.

During July and August 1984 a conversation was organized and conducted in party groups and primary organizations on the topic "The Communist and Discipline in the Collective." With good advance preparation and organization meetings of party groups and PPO's were held in the OTO, KAT [Automotive Transportation Control] Administration, UOOR, Criminal Administration, etc. Taken up were such important questions as the following: quality and discipline in treatment of problems in militia activity; discipline and promptness; personal organization and discipline for further training and operational skills; discipline and workload; discipline and self-reports of communists; discipline in MPS [motor vehicle] use; discipline and secrecy, etc. Less attention was given to the discipline of communists in their place of residence, in the family, in the education of children, in the resolution of conflict situations, etc. At party organization meetings there were lively discussions of the stringency of some service-head communists, creativity on the job, conscientiousness in the use of annual leave, on detached service, in the units, etc.

The general assessment is that the state of discipline in the DNM is better than in previous years but there still are a number of serious violations and out-of-the-ordinary events. What is especially alarming is that some of these were committed during the conversations in party groups and at party meetings.

Special measures were taken by the party committee, PPO bureaus and service leaders of units to enhance the role of DNM communists as organizers and educators and to intensify their personal responsibility for the state of discipline in NM units. Along these lines an integrated political day was organized and held to treat problems of quality and discipline in militia activity. An open session of the DNM leadership personnel seminar was held which took up questions such as the subjective factor and party strategy for quality, organizational standards and moral stance, moral and emotional standards, standards of dealing with people, trust and quality in official activity, etc. There were serious conversations in party groups and organizations on these questions.

Despite these and a number of other measures of a party and service character no drastic change in the campaign for the strengthening of NM discipline has yet been achieved. Why are we unable to effect such a necessary change as this? Why is there no appreciable improvement in the personal discipline of some DNM officers? Why are their professional activity and sense of responsibility unsatisfactory? The second reason is that some communists of this combat staff of the People's Militia, albeit good and conscientious doers, do not have sufficient abilities as organizers and educators. Most of the new appointees fall in this category. There are, of course, officers who do not have the temperament and flair for educational and organizational work, who do not know how to deal with people. That is why the activity of primary party organizations and party groups is now directed towards overcoming these reasons of a subjective character.

Problems in party work and discipline will be a matter of discussion and solution also at the annual report-and-election meetings. One thing must be clear to every communist: the strengthening of discipline and the establishment of strict, prescribed service routine are not possible through systematic assurances alone; it is achieved by concrete acts and deeds, by persevering and singleminded work.

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## BULGARIA

### LEADERS' APPEARANCES FROM 2-8 DECEMBER REPORTED

AU082103 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 2-8 December, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting in Sofia in connection with Constitutional Day. (1830 GMT 3 Dec)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee for Culture, together with Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended the opening of the days of Romanian Culture in Sofia. (2030 GMT 3 Dec) Yordanov is also reported to have attended a students' celebration in Sofia, while Mikhaylov attended a similar celebration in Blagoevgrad. (1830 GMT 6 Dec)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a students' celebration at the higher Institute for Physical Culture in Sofia. (1000 GMT 4 Dec)

Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a ground-breaking ceremony for a new students home in Stara Zagora. (1000 GMT 4 Dec)

In connection with students' day, 8 December, Sofia Domestic Service reports that Bulgarian leaders attended students' celebrations at higher educational institutes in various cities in the country: Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, was in Vidin; Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of energy and raw material resources, was in Sofia; Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of construction and territorial settlement organization, was in Sofia; and Kiril Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was in Svishtov (1830 GMT 5 Dec).

In addition, Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, was in Sofia (2000 GMT 5 Dec) and was also reported to have attended a ceremony in Sofia connected with students' laying wreaths at monuments (1000 GMT 8 Dec); Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and minister of machine-building and electronics, was in

Sofia (2000 GMT 5 Dec) and was also reported to have attended the commissioning of a computer club in Sofia (1000 GMT 8 Dec); Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, was in Shumen, (2000 GMT 5 Dec); Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was in Burgas (2000 GMT 5 Dec); Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of internal affairs, was in Sofia (2000 GMT 5 Dec) and also was reported to have attended a students' celebration in Plovdiv (1830 GMT 6 Dec); Stanish Bonev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Committee, was in Varna (2000 GMT 5 Dec).

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, was in Gabrovo (1830 GMT 6 Dec); Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was in Ruse (1830 GMT 6 Dec) and is also reported to have attended a celebration devoted to the day of the workers involved in food industry in Khaskovo (1830 GMT 7 Dec).

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended the opening of a new educational base at the Karl Marx Institute in Sofia (1000 GMT 8 Dec).

CSO: 2200/61



REPORT ON RAID AGAINST LOAFERS, SUSPICIOUS FIGURES

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 7 Nov 84 p3

[Article by Maj Vestseslav Genchev: "One Raid and Many Queries"]

[Text]                      Strictness Dictated by Law

What Is Sofia's Attraction for Young Loafers?

MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Officers Good Professionals

A comprehensive operation in the capital, directed by the chief of the MVR SGU [Sofia City Administration], Lt Gen Dimitur Yotov, and by the Operational Staff, headed by the deputy chief of the SGU and chief of the People's Militia Administration, Col Purvan Rusinov, lasted from 1000 hours on 30 October to 0900 hours on 1 November, i.e., for 47 hours.

Simultaneously in 17 operational rayons, 12 of which coincided with RNS [rayon people's council] territories, hundreds of public food service establishments, bars, discotheques, economic installations, hotels, private quarters, etc., were raided (several times each!). The rayon heads had worked out independent plans and this proved very successful, for they reflected the real situation and were consistent with available forces and resources. Let me add at once that the operation was conducted in stages, according to the specifics of the rayons and installations, after assessment of the results already obtained, i.e., personnel and equipment were manipulated flexibly and rationally, moving in where most necessary, at times sometimes calculated with accuracy to the second.

As is usual, the participants in such a large-scale operation were DS [State Security], NM [People's Militia] and PO [fire protection] employees--officers and senior noncommissioned officers, non-table-of-organization employees, members of DOT [volunteer detachments of workers], heads of enterprises, institutions and organizations; and in the raid on some important economic installations assistance was also sought from the respective party, administrative, trade-union and Komsomol leaders, as well as KNK [people's control commission] representatives.

Figures are not always the most precise measure of how active militia personnel are, but in this case they are very illustrative. Some of them will reveal to us the scope of the work they do, others will only touch lightly once more on the everyday routine of the people who are sworn to fight evil, who carry in their heart the brightest hope and faith in mankind.

And thus 2532 targets were visited and checked out, 6945 drivers were stopped, 5833 citizens showed their identity cards. To be sure, even now there were people with no identification papers, but they were approached specifically, for which reason no innocent citizens were offended and distressed.

Only those persons were brought to the MVR RU [Rayon Administration] for verification and clarification of their identity who by their external appearance, by their behavior and by certain details imperceptible to the inexperienced eye aroused the suspicion of the officers making the check. Nearly 500 persons with a criminal record came again into the MVR field of vision. One hundred thirty-nine persons on whom measures under article 39 of the ZNM [Law on People's Militia] had been imposed were checked. Some 141 citizens, now living elsewhere, were sought at their former addresses; the homes of persons who systematically abuse alcohol were visited, etc.

Brought to light as a result of the coordinated operation and heightened vigilance were 56 criminal offenses (thefts and frauds), 20 economic offenses (illegal trade and currency deals), 7 persons who had violated the measure under article 39 of the ZNM, and nine under article 40a. Some 30 male vagrants were apprehended, the same number of women of amoral conduct, 103 loafers, mainly from the country, etc. Twenty-three persons, sought on various grounds by MVR agencies, were tracked down.

We could mention many more figures, but we shall conclude with the fact that 1198 were violations of the ZDP [Traffic Law], which proves finally that the capital dweller is . . . an undisciplined driver.

Of the numerous findings we shall mention the most striking: employees in trade systematically commit violations involving labeling and the serving of alcohol and cigarettes to schoolchildren and students. For precisely this reason and a number of other violations (short-weight, dilution, overcharging, etc.), inspectors from the Public Food Service Control Unit and MVR officers closed down the Rhythm Discotheque in Blagoev Rayon and called for an audit.

That working time is being "stolen" is an old story. Unfortunately, "thefts" of this kind continue despite heightened demands. Some 370 violations of labor discipline (cases of tardiness of up to 30 minutes) were found at Khimsnab [Chemical Supply] PSP [Economic Marketing Enterprise], Signal SK [Economic Combine], Georgi Dimitrov ZAG [Motor Vehicle Tire Plant], Kliment Voroshilov SZ [Glassware Plant], "Balkankarprogres" TsNIITM [Central Scientific Research Institute for Machine-Building Technology], etc. And how many people were drinking coffee during working hours in hundreds of capital city establishments--nobody can account for them. . .

It is clear to everybody that it is impossible to tell everything that was seen during these days and nights, but there are cases that must by all means be mentioned in order to serve as a lesson.

On 31 October toward 1800 hours at the Yug [South] Bus Station Capt Ivan Istiliyanov from the first MVR RU and officers from the Criminal Section of the SGU, Ivan Bozov, Dimitur Sokolov and Stanislav Rusinov, arrested Yanko Angelov and Glagov Kirilov of Samokov, who in only a few hours in the central part of the capital had pickpocketed purses from ladies' bags. They admitted thefts they had committed in other cities of the country as well. The vigilant officers did their job well, but somebody had to do conscientious work before them.  
. . . .

Latin Stoyanov, born in 1967 in Razgrad Okrug, inhabitant of the capital with no fixed address, place of employment or means of subsistence, was brought to the fourth MVR RU. But is he alone. . .? Latin had committed a documentary crime--he had forged the identity card of a detachment member.

The homes of Ivan Yordanov and Atanas Kostov in the region of the 11th MVR RU were converted into a motion picture theater for the exhibition of pornographic films. Seventeen persons had paid a lev apiece for the film and were reveling in it. . . And that is the way it was for a day or two. . .

A foreign woman, who had wandered away from her tourist group 2 months before, was found in a luxury hotel in the room of a Bulgarian citizen. During that time she had lived in Varna, in Plovdiv, in Sofia. . .

The comprehensive raid helped find persons who are committing crimes and violations, who are not performing socially useful labor, who are leading an amoral way of life, engaging in illegal trade and gambling, who are wanted by MVR agencies, etc., etc. It showed that the professional training of MVR officers is up to the level of their great tasks, that they are ready to perform their duty selflessly, unstintingly and with high morale--and something else, that strict, daily, systematic control in all areas of multifaceted militia activity is necessary.

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DIVORCE PROVISIONS IN NEW FAMILY CODE CRITICIZED

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 2 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Todor Gergishanov, psychologist: "Fear of Divorce Corrodes Marriage"]

[Text]                      Controversial Opinion

Training for Family Life Necessary Early

Many people proceed toward their eventual divorce from the very day they begin to take shape as personalities. Such a formulation may sound paradoxical, but there is a great deal of truth in it. For whatever each of us accumulates from society by way of inculcation and education, our breadth of culture, the plasticity of our attitudes which we learn to create and maintain, the ability to survive which we constantly develop within ourselves--all this affects and directly influences our selection of a marital partner and the stability of our lives as spouses, as well as the values that we strive jointly to attain, the strength of the family and the length of its duration. Nor are all those socioeconomic conditions which likewise to a great extent "govern" the building and functioning of the family without significance, for they reverberate to the most intimate strata of spousal interrelationships. Such conditions are the timely provision of housing for young families, comprehensive care of the aged, the availability of sufficient accommodations in day nurseries and kindergartens, existing opportunities for maintenance of the skills of women who are on maternity leaves, etc., etc.

One of the important preconditions for the preservation of marriage is also the freedom of divorce. This freedom--which, according to the draft of the new Family Code, will be limited -- will not, in my opinion, enhance the value of marriage. I believe, of course, that the compilers of this draft were guided by the most humane considerations, but clearly at the same time they disregarded the psychological barriers that, once erected in the way of divorce, will hobble marriage as well.

Today's family is socially "open"; spouses strive first and foremost for realization of their potential in social spheres of activity; interest in the marriage partner's personality qualities is unprecedented, as is interest in expectations from the marriage itself, which very often reach maximalist

dimensions. In such a situation it is utterly clear that there will be marriages that will break up. And that there will be more divorces than several decades ago. But far more important is the fact that the families that stand the test of time are precisely the families that our society needs. These are stable families in which the spouses are aware of the freedom of divorce that they have, but it increases both their human and civic responsibility for how to deal with it.

And if our country vitally needs something in this sense, it is an increase in the birth rate. But this has to be desired by our entire process of perceived private and public necessity.

### Fear of Marriage

If we abolish or markedly restrict the freedom of divorce, we shall create and feed a fear of marriage.

In all probability the group of young men and women who do not want to contract marriage will increase. Their reasons, which we have endeavored rather successfully to refute and alter, will now become still more valid. For they will not want to live in a marriage which from the very moment of its inception will be bounded by prohibitions and restrictions, and which will have to be so constructed as to insure at all costs against any mistake whatever. The thought of the mazes and consequences of a possible divorce, of the necessity of constantly keeping some secret accounts--who contributed how much money, who gave what to whom, etc.--will not be to the benefit of spousal relationships, but may easily formalize them.

Fear of marriage will also take away a great potential reserve for stabilization of the family and an increase in the birth rate--remarriages. Anybody freed with so much agony and trauma from his previous family will hardly want to enter into a second marriage and have more children for he will already have had more than enough of the divorce process. Thus the group of persons actively propagandizing the extramarital lifestyle will grow. And young people, unfortunately, will very often believe their "opinions" and "counsels" rather than those of their parents and teachers.

### Fear of Divorce

Barriers to the freedom of divorce will naturally also create fear of divorce.

At first we will perhaps be delighted with the seeming picture of the well-being of the Bulgarian family. But actually by virtue of a lessening of divorce petitions there will be an increase in the number of "agonizing" marriages, which year after year will warp the personalities of both the children and their parents. The aftermath of this warping lends itself with difficulty to statistics, but it suffices to mention that it is precisely these children who tomorrow, perhaps, will create such unhappy marriages and such unhappy children. And we hardly have to be persuaded at great length that our socialist society does not need such marriages and such children.



Cases of deliberate abuse will also increase with barriers to divorce. For this cannot help but encourage some unconscientious persons, who in marriage will become more unforgivable still.

And once more the birth rate will be restricted. Many spouses will refrain from having more children in their family since they will only increase the negative dividends in the event of divorce. If children are born anyway, they will be unwanted and will not grow up in a favorable family atmosphere.

#### Nothing Else Needed

If we are actually concerned about stabilizing the family and increasing the number of children in it, we need nothing else.

We must not punish somebody because his family has broken up; rather we must prepare him early on for marriage. For what, in final analysis, are young people guilty of if they are expected [1 or more lines missing] we invest with our passivity? Who equips them with what knowledge to be wiser as spouses? Have we not had since as far back as 1978 Comrade Todor Zhivkov's wise exhortations which he sent us in his "Letter to Young People"? Do we not have the entire program of the National Komsomol Conference containing specific decisions and specific target dates for the creation of a harmonious system to train the rising generation for family and marriage? But all we have done so far is timid attempts such as the timid first steps at introducing an optional course for upper-class students, for which the only sure thing so far is the reading materials, "My Future Family," put out in a printing, ridiculous for our needs, by Narodna Mladezh Publishing House. We have a few confidential telephone lines, a few psychological--and the same number of marriage and family--advice bureaus.

But why should we not use this albeit modest, nonetheless real potential for treating at least the families when the virus of misunderstandings and conflicts has for any length of time become implanted in spousal interrelationships? Why should not the conference with the psychologists become the first and obligatory stage of every divorce proceeding? Will not a calm and well-meaning analysis in a setting that greatly predisposes the spouses to open up their hearts help them to probe more carefully the core of the problems undermining their marriage and think over their divorce decision more soberly? Will not the burden of the court itself also be lightened by the reasoned opinion of the psychologists before it decides whether the relations in a given marriage are finished or whether it can still be saved? Will not such a possibility be significantly more effective than the reconciliation phase of a divorce proceeding when the spouses are left to themselves? And during the time when they should be reflecting and making concessions, they most often are magnifying their mutual distrust and deepening their conflicts still more?

Psychological consulting bureaus are necessary also for those who are entering into marriage for the first time. The opinions of specialists (not as vetoes or restrictions, but rather as recommendations!) will help the future spouses to assess their choice of partner more realistically and will be one more opportunity to avoid disillusionments tomorrow.

Lastly, we must give considerate and timely help to people who, in spite of everything, have gone through the divorce crucible. For only thus can we hope that they will want and be able to establish a new family, produce and rear wanted children and feel like fully adequate citizens.

Dear Readers,

Perhaps some of you will not agree with Todor Gergishanov's position, expressed especially forcefully in the first part of this article. Therefore we await your opinions, refutations and suggestions at the address that you know:

Sofia 1080  
47 Lenin Boulevard  
NARODNA MLADEZH Newspaper  
Moral-and-Ethical and Social Problems Department

6474  
CSO: 2200/54

## PIECEWORK IN AGRICULTURAL SECTOR DISCUSSED

AU061910 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by Kiril Malinov, first deputy chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council: "Piecework--Achievements and Problems"--passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] The theses of the BCP Central Committee Politburo published in 1980 and dealing with the consistent application of the economic approach and the new brigade organization, as well as Comrade Todor Zhivkov's instructions submitted to the 1983 November conference, gave a tremendous impetus to the perfection of socialist labor organization in the agricultural sector. Replacing more than 14,000 existing production units, 3,560 brigades of a new type were established in 1981. The new brigades represent large, specialized production units with expanded economic rights and independent operation, endowed with highly qualified cadres and technical equipment which enable them independently to resolve the questions of the organization and technology in production. Their basic characteristic feature is the fact that they are working on the basis of economic cost accounting and internal cost accounting, and the fact that approximately one-fifth of them have their own bank account.

All these factors are exerting a tremendously positive impact with regard to the reorganized implementation of agricultural tasks and as regards a more efficient use of resources in 1984. Many agro-industrial complexes and brigades, however, are allowing serious deviations from the principle of the economic approach and its mechanism to occur; they are slowing down production and affecting efficiency. The question is that, even under the conditions of the new brigade organization, wage leveling and the consumer attitude have not yet been entirely eliminated from the labor remuneration system. /This is why the most important task today is to apply, upon the basis of the accumulated experience, more perfect forms of organization and labor remuneration, which will enable us to make the principles of the new economic approach and of self-sufficiency accessible to the smallest workers collectives and to the individual worker. In one of his lectures to the students and teachers of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out as follows: "The new element today is our wish to place every economic organization, and each of its departments, as well as every brigade, every working place, and the individual worker himself on the basis of economic cost accounting." One of the most important factors in this field is the comprehensive introduction of the piecework remuneration system./

As to the agricultural sector, piecework is not a new system. It has been widely applied in the oriental tobacco growing sector.

The new stage in our agricultural development, however, namely the stage of all-round intensification, on the basis of the achievements of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, demands that the system of labor remuneration should be raised to a higher level. This is why it is necessary to reevaluate the hitherto acquired experience in piecework on the basis of the criteria and requirements of new conditions and tasks.

/Piecework is an organic part of socialist labor organization/ under the conditions of introducing the new economic approach and all-round intensification of production. Piecework is a specific type of remuneration which the workers' collectives and their individual members receive from the economic organization or brigade for the production and implementation of a certain kind of production, against special resources also granted to them from the "Workers Wages Fund." The relations between those who assign the work and the pieceworker himself are settled by contract which none of the two partners can one-sidedly amend.

In responding to the tasks assigned by the Varna Conference, the National Agro-Industrial Union and the Committee of Labor and Social Affairs adopted joint instructions and solutions. The draft projects on the all-round introduction of the piecework system which are now being worked out in the agro-industrial complexes will be approved by a Council of Experts attached to the Agro-Industrial Union Central Council, and will actually represent a further perfection and specification of the engineering projects for the new brigade organization. The most essential factor in this respect is the fact that the piecework system is becoming the basic and only form of organization and labor remuneration, and that as of the beginning of 1985 all brigades, links, combined groups, and even individual families and workers—wherever the character of production makes this necessary—will work on the basis of piecework principles.

/The brigade is the basic form of labor organization in agriculture; however, it actually plays the role of the master of socialist property. This is why only the brigade piecework can and must be the basic form of piecework./ This system alone, however, cannot entirely liquidate wage leveling and cannot sufficiently guarantee the necessary economic incentives and drive for an optimal effort and self-initiative of every worker and specialists. /Therefore, it is necessary that the principles of the economic approach and of economic cost accounting be made accessible to even the smallest collective and to each individual worker. This is a very complicated problem which can be successfully resolved only on the basis of a new approach and on the basis of a specific analysis of the character of production and of production conditions./

The piecework remuneration system is of great importance. Nevertheless, it can play its role only under the condition that it is applied in a comprehensive manner and in full conformity with all other elements of the economic approach, that it is truly combined with the accelerated introduction of the most recent achievements of scientific-technical progress in the technology, organization, and management of the agricultural sector.

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

STANISHEV RECEIVES PDY DELEGATION--Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA)--A delegation of the Yemen-Bulgarian Society for Friendship, led by Mr Abdullah Ghanim, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, minister of state and deputy chairman of the society was on a visit to this country at the invitation of the Bulgaro-Yemen Society for Friendship from 26 November through 2 December. During the visit the delegation was received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP, by Mr Yancho Georgiev, member of the Central Committee of the BCP and chairman of the Bulgaro-Yemen Society for Friendship and by Mr Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of the District Committee of the BCP in the town of Silistra. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1348 GMT 3 Dec 84]

LEADERS GREET FINNISH COUNTERPARTS--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria State Council, has sent a telegram to Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland. The telegram expresses cordial congratulations on the occasion of the country's national day and addresses the best wishes for the happiness and well-being of the friendly Finnish people. The telegram expresses confidence that the relations between our two countries and peoples will further continue along the path of their ascending development in the interest of peace and security throughout the world, in the interest of understanding among the peoples. On the same occasion, Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent a telegram to Kalevi Sorsa, premier of the Republic of Finland. The telegram expresses best wishes for further successes of the country and its industrious people. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 84 p 1]

BOZHINOV SPEAKS ON ECONOMY--Comrade Todor Bozhinov has met representatives of the mass information media at the Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture in Sofia. In his speech he stressed the basic trends of the development of our economy at the present stage and devoted particular attention to the necessity of deepening and expanding specialization on the basis of new productions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov also explained the need to build a new uniform power supply base. He emphasized that the building of medium and large capacities should be speeded up because they are effective and can speedily react to changes in the domestic and international market. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Dec 84]



**FILIPPOV ATTENDS STUDENTS' MEETING**--A meeting to mark students' day organized by the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Higher Machine-Engineering Institute was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia today. Grisha Filipov attended the meeting and conveyed greetings to those present. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 84]

**GUINEAN ENVOY'S FINAL DEPARTURE**--Boubacar Biro Barry, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea to Bulgaria, has finally departed from our country, after completing his tour of duty. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

**ARTISTS FOR NUCLEAR-FREE BALKANS**--Sofia, 20 Nov (BTA)--Today the Lyudmila Zhivkova National Palace of Culture once again welcomed the participants in the meeting of young artists--peace champions from the Balkan countries and Cyprus. They focused their round table discussion on "young artists' creativity as a contribution to the struggle for peace, friendship and cooperation, for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone." Today the participants in the meeting emphasized that it is among the first steps towards the denuclearization of the Balkans and called for the region to be turned from the one-time powder keg of Europe into a sanctuary of peace, friendship and cooperation. They touched on the exceedingly aggravated international situation and pointed out that never since World War II has peace been in such a danger as now. They stressed that the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Europe has inaugurated another round in the arms race. The representatives of organizations with different political affiliations, taking part in the meeting, unanimously declared themselves in support of the peace drive. An emphasis was laid on the 12th world festival of youth and students, due in Moscow in 1985, as an impressive manifestation of this drive. The participants stressed the fact that the cause of peace is enlisting the growing support of ever broadening popular masses. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 20 Nov 84 AU]

**GREEK JOURNALISTS VISIT**--At the invitation of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, a delegation of the union of editors of the dailies from the region of Macedonia and Thrace with their seats in Salonika, headed by President Christos Lambrinos, is visiting the country. The Bulgarian delegation is headed by Mr Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. The two delegations informed each other of the organization and the tasks of their unions and about the exchanges of professional experience. They discussed several questions of mutual and common interest. They expressed their will to make constant efforts for the development of bilateral relations in accordance with the friendly feelings between the two neighbouring peoples and in the interests of peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and the whole world, which was reaffirmed at the time of the meetings and talks between the State Council president, Mr Todor Zhivkov, with the Greek president, Mr Constandinos Karamanlis, and the Greek prime minister, Mr Andreas Papandreou. The Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the Union of Editors of Dailies in the region of Macedonia and Thrace with a seat in Salonika agreed to cooperate in the initiatives which contribute to the preservation of peace in the Balkans and in Europe as a whole and also to work on a common basis for the organization of bilateral and international meetings of journalists from the Balkans and for further development of relations and professional cooperation. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 21 Nov 84 AU]

TRANSPORTATION COOPERATION WITH POLAND--With the signing of an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation and a protocol for up to 1990, the talks between delegations of the Bulgarian and Polish Ministries of Transportation have ended in Sofia. These documents confirm new forms of cooperation in all types of transportation. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 20 Nov 84 AU]

CONSTRUCTION TALKS WITH SLOVAKIA--Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of construction and territorial-settlement organization, received Karol Kuna, deputy minister of construction of Slovakia, who is visiting Bulgaria. They discussed questions connected with the development of the building materials industry and prospects of cooperation in this sector. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Nov 84 AU]

MIKHAYLOV MEETS SOCIALIST EDITORS--Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov has received those attending the conference of editors in chief and high-ranking officials of ideological journals and dailies of the communist and workers parties from some socialist countries. The guests were acquainted with topical tasks of socialist building in the light of the 12th BCP Congress and the national party conference. Stoyan Mikhaylov also dwelt on our party's ideological work under the present conditions and on its role in the ideological education of communists and working people. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/61

MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY THEORY EXAMINED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 11, 1984 pp 29-38

[Article by Miloslav Spacek]

[Excerpts] Contemporary positivist, revisionist, and opportunistic thinking is showing a "realistic face." It demands respect for the facts, reality, and experience but as individualistic experience. In this way it abandons in fact both scientific revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

History teaches us that the schism between philosophy and politics, between theory and practice, necessarily ends in either unproductive doctrinairism or opportunistic pragmatism. The solution of the tasks of revolutionary politics must be based on knowledge of the objective laws of social development and on a materialistic understanding of history.

However, if the very point of departure of a philosophical methodological position is based on the rejection of the objective laws of history, then politics does not need any theory and politics is reduced to the "ability" of an adroit use of the real possibilities at a given moment.

The methodological mistake of this attitude is not in stating that history does not repeat itself but in the fact that what is individual and particular is mechanically opposed to that which is general. One excludes the other. Its consequence is the blind alley of antitheoretical attitude. Where there are no general laws there is no place for science and theory. This way, history and politics become a sphere of unsupported subjective notions, an object of pragmatic search. In contrast to neo-Kantianism, the Marxists have discovered the dialectics of the general and the particular in social life and have proved that history sometimes may repeat itself, that it is governed by certain laws, and thus that the politics of the revolutionary class cannot be based on any voluntary foundations. A lesson the communist parties have learned from their struggle with positivism and revisionism shows that we cannot permit an indifferent attitude on the part of the political avant-garde of the working class toward philosophical theories which one way or another, openly or secretly, determine a principled approach to the political problems of the present.

Marxist-Leninist theory, understood as a sum of all its parts--philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism--secures a world view base for the

revolutionary politics of the working class without which any scientific analysis of a concrete political situation and correct political decisions is unthinkable.

V.I. Lenin noted: "From this philosophy of Marxism, cast from a single block of steel, we cannot separate a single basic idea or a single important part without departing from the objective truth and falling into the arms of a bourgeois reactionary life."

Marxist-Leninist politics is based on knowledge of the laws of political life and political development. It is understandable that under concretely different conditions these laws manifest themselves in different ways. Consequently, they must be applied in politics in a creative way, respecting the peculiarities of each country and of each historical period. In spite of that, however, there are certain general principles governing revolutionary politics which reflect the objective laws of revolution. These principles are already determined by the position of the working class in the system of social production and the historical mission which the working class is to implement.

The different concrete situations under which communist parties operate can cast doubts on the possibility of working out a unified revolutionary policy. The strategy and tactics of the communist and workers parties is basically very different in relation to the tasks the parties are facing. The focus of the policies of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, which have already solved the task of transferring power to the working class and the working people, is the creative task of building socialism and communism. The strategy of the communist parties in capitalist countries is oriented toward a socialist revolution, toward the realization of the program of deep democratic changes which will lead to such a revolution. In the countries which were able to get rid of the colonial yoke, the strategic plans of the Marxist-Leninist parties are directed at the solution of those tasks of the national liberation revolutions which correspond to the interest of the masses, at a search for temporary forms of political and economic development which, in spite of a number of temporary stages, will in the end make it possible to achieve socialism.

In different countries we also see different allies of the working class. The constellation of individual forces on the political battlefield differs from country to country, and the same applies to the character of concrete tasks the working class and its avant-garde are facing. Even more different are the forms of the struggle and organization applied by the communist parties in individual countries. Based on the prevailing situation, in certain countries the peaceful means of struggle predominate; in other countries military means must be used. In some countries the communist parties use primarily legal methods; in other countries they are forced to emphasize the illegal methods of struggle.

As a consequence of these differences, there often appear doubts about the possibility of an overall internationalist base for a revolutionary strategy of the communist movement. Any rejection of such a base could mean one thing only: disrespect for Marxist-Leninist theory, which determines the basic



principles of revolutionary policy. And this necessarily leads to subjectivism in politics.

The unified strategy of communists from various countries is based on the common basic principles of revolutionary policy which are a result of the theoretical generalization of the entire historical practice of the international workers movement.

In the first place, it is the class approach to politics. This class approach concretizes the substance of the communist movement as a political movement. This class approach expresses the core interests of the working class. This means that the entire policy of communists, their attitude toward social and political problems, their evaluation of other parties and organizations, are always determined through class consciousness. This principle the communists articulately consider as the basis of their activity, political strategy and tactics, as a basis of the solution of economic, political, theoretical as well as philosophical questions. Because of this the ideologues of anti-communism try to accuse the Marxist-Leninist parties of having a narrow viewpoint and of narrowmindedness. In fact, however, all political parties and tendencies have a class character, express the interests of certain classes or social strata. Bourgeois and petit bourgeois tendencies in most cases try to disguise their class approach. On the other hand, the communist parties stand openly on the positions of the working class. Communists have no reason to hide the class character of their movement because the working class is a progressive class of the present stage, its interests and goals are basically objectively in harmony with the interests of all working people, the overwhelming majority of society, and the main direction of progress of the whole of humanity. Hence, the working class approach in both science and politics is the broadest and most objective approach creating maximum possibilities for the solution of national (within the framework of individual countries) problems and the problems of social progress of the whole of humanity.

The revolutionary principle which is natural for the communist movement is organically related to the class and partisan approach. Because in the final analysis the working class can achieve its goals only through revolution, which will sweep away capitalism and all forms of exploitation and oppression, the communists orient themselves in their policy and actions toward the creation of conditions for a basic revolutionary takeover, toward the mobilization of the masses to realize this goal. The Marxist-Leninist parties defend the revolutionary principle and reject opportunism, which tries to limit the class struggle of the proletariat by accepting the framework of the capitalist system. Under the guise of being practical and realistic in politics, the opportunists in fact eliminate from the program the question of a break with the capitalist system--in other words, the question of socialist revolution. They substitute a shallow evolutionary approach for the revolutionary principle and are satisfied with reformist changes of the capitalist system. At present, there is a struggle within the communist movement against the petit bourgeois understanding of the principle of revolution. This petit bourgeois attitude prevents the communist movement from effectively waging a class struggle, from adopting a realistic attitude toward the sociopolitical forces. Such an attitude transforms the revolutionary approach into an empty leftist phrase and becomes an apology for political adventurism.



The policy of the working class and its avant-garde is truly revolutionary only when it is inseparably linked to scientific theory. The revolutionary policy presupposes a clear program of revolutionary acts by the progressive class, an understanding of the goals, paths and means to achieve these goals, and a grasp of the situation and possibilities. All this is unthinkable without the theory which gives the policy the knowledge of the laws of the development of society and the principles of methodological thinking and revolutionary activity.

Without theory the politics of the working class "drops" to the level of an empirical search for solutions while the major political content, namely a socialist perspective, the intent fundamentally to transform state power, is removed from it. Under the best circumstances, it becomes a sort of trade union policy oriented towards the creation of the most advantageous conditions for selling manpower.

The revolutionary theory also guarantees the international character of the policy of the working class and the communist party in a given country. A pragmatic policy, limited by a circle of specific national conditions, necessarily leads to a nationalistic narrowmindedness and to provincialism, which will destroy international and domestic relations in the class struggle. Hence, real internationalism in politics definitely includes a theoretical approach to reality. Theory, as Lenin emphasized, "grows from the total sum of revolutionary experiences and revolutionary thinking in all countries." Consequently, theory leads politics beyond the national border, makes it possible to overcome the necessary narrowmindedness of national experiences, sees the international parameters of the revolutionary process, and correctly evaluates the dialectics of international and national problems. The danger that some people might become the "prisoners" of a specific goal and that this fact could lead to the loss of the general laws of revolution is still present. This is one of the sources in the revision of the principles of Marxist theory. When attacking these principles, the revisionists usually emphasize a particular historic stage or special national or regional conditions. By absolutizing that this is special, they contribute to the appearance of various types of "national" and "regional" communism.

All this shows the importance of correctly understanding the relationship between science and concrete analysis. Analysis by itself is not a pure empiric search, which always starts without a point of departure. Otherwise, theory would be superfluous. Analysis presupposes not only general methodological principles but also general orientation points which make it possible to understand the logic of a concrete situation and deal with it as a stage of a historical process, as a link in the systems of relations in the world. The goal of concrete analysis is to explain the particular with the help of the general. The latter is the sum of previous revolutionary experience and includes the laws of revolution. Experience generalized in theory is both a requirement and part of any analysis. Ignoring theory reduces analysis to a mere registration of facts.

Concrete revolutionary experience in a concrete situation shows itself as a moment of the world's revolutionary process. And its correct appreciation

and related policy are not possible without the theory which this process generalizes as a whole. The problem of a concrete analysis is primarily the problem of a creative application of theoretical conclusions in a concrete situation. This means that the laws of socialist revolution do not remove from each communist party the obligation to work out a strategy and tactics in accordance with the conditions of its country. At the same time, general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism represent the key positions, the key moments of the scientific analysis of a concrete historical situation in a given country.

In other words, there are no general laws by themselves but in creative application, in organic unity with practice--only such an approach to them is a key for understanding the dialectics of Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary policy of the working class, the communists.

1277

CSO: 2400/124

SOCIALIST MORALITY DEFENDED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Ladislav Hrzal and Ivan Antonov: "Class Substance of Morality and Democracy"]

[Excerpts] In a class-divided world the difference between socialist and capitalist morality and democracy comes to the fore. The thesis of "pure," "supraclass," "non-party" morality and democracy propagated by bourgeois theory and propaganda is fiction serving to deceive the broad masses of working people. "Pure democracy," wrote Lenin, "is not only an ignorant phrase showing the lack of understanding of the class struggle and meaning of the state, but also a threefold empty phrase, since in a communist society democracy will change into usage, wither, but will never become 'pure democracy.'"

The pharisaism of bourgeois morality is evident even today, when through the fault of the reactionary policy of imperialist monopolies the world has been brought to the very brink of nuclear catastrophe. This is blatantly seen in the pronouncements of Ronald Reagan, who said: "Americans resort to violence only when forced to do so. We have never been the aggressors and have always fought to defend liberty and democracy."

What deeds, however, lurk behind these "peace-loving" words? The barbaric assault on Grenada, support of the bloody dictatorial regimes in Latin America, the bombing of Beirut, actions leading to the unleashing of nuclear conflict, etc., all of which is merely a brief list of recent expressions of the "peace-loving" intentions which the American monopolies force upon the world. This is the real morality of imperialism with its empty phrases on morality, democracy and freedom.

It is not by chance that imperialist propaganda consistently praises American "democracy" as the pinnacle of perfection and an example for the whole world, while the socialist system is damned as the "evil empire" and "total darkness." This anticommunism, this psychological propaganda is meant to confuse and frighten citizens of the capitalist countries and justify the feverish armament and preparations for nuclear war by American imperialism. Typical of this provocative psychosis is the statement of the American expert on problems of the East, Richard Pipes, who said: "If the Russians do not abandon communism, there is no other alternative but war with the Soviet Union."

War against the "evil" responsible for the "threat to Western civilization" is in its essence the expression of the class orientation of some bourgeois ideologues and politicians. The causes of the economic, political, social and ideological crisis of the capitalist society are not seen by these people in the general crisis of the capitalist order. On the contrary, despite the real historical development in society, capitalism for them represents the best of all possible social systems.

Marxism essentially rejects subjectivism, approaches divorced from objective reality. On the basis of scientific knowledge of the objective realities of historical societal development, it demonstrates which historical tendency is doomed to extinction and which is the way of future progress. It documents the fact that capitalism is regressive, while socialism represents progress. Even Aristotle wrote: "The good lies always only in deeds." Which of the forces in the contemporary world acts in a manner to foster the "good" which expresses the interests of humankind as a whole? These are the forces which want to put a halt to feverish armament and preparations for war, which want to build prerequisites for peaceful coexistence of nations of the whole world, which want to develop a broad and fruitful cooperation among them in all spheres of social life. These are the forces which strive to eliminate exploitation of humans by humans, and to create conditions for the advent of an "empire of freedom."

The "ethical viewpoint" of Marxism-Leninism does not reject but subordinates ethics to the principle of cause, i.e., the morality of one or another class stems, in the final analysis, from certain material relations within society. These, in fact, determine ethics, even though morality--as other forms of social consciousness--plays an independent role and has a great impact on the thought and action of people. Communists are the last not to be aware of this.

Marxism-Leninism rejects efforts to justify the need for social restructuring merely by norms of morality or abstract calls for justice, democracy, humanism and freedom. The foundation of all scientific teachings is scientific proof of truth, a system which reveals the objective legalities of a subject or phenomenon under examination, a system which finds proof of the correctness of its theoretical thought in sociohistorical practice. Purely ethical justification of socialism would be possible only if moral legalities existed quite independently from material production and the system of class relations, from the essential cause determining people's emotions, interests and actions. Such existence of moral legalities may be found only in the imagination of creators of various utopian systems of ethics, which have nothing in common with science.

Is it possible to claim that Marxism-Leninism perhaps underestimates or even rejects the importance of morality and democracy, that it is an amoral, anti-humanist teaching which ignores moral ideals and rejects democratic principles? Such views can be expressed only by people who do not know Marxism-Leninism and repeat the claims of bourgeois ideologues, or those who are interested in distorting Marxism-Leninism only to be better able to refute it.

Is anything more moral and democratic than today's struggle of all progressive people in the world for peace and social progress? Is this struggle not spear-headed by communists? From its birth to the present, Marxism-Leninism has

encountered opponents who slander it by claims that it denies the importance of moral conscience, that it is a teaching which is in conflict with the ideals of democracy and humanism. In reality, Marxism-Leninism not only does not deny the importance of moral conscience and democracy, but for the first time in history has explained from scientific positions the significance of ideology, and thus also morality, for the first time in history has assisted, as the ideological source of revolutionary action, in the installation of real democracy, democracy for the broadest strata of the working people, the democracy of a socialist society.

Socialist morality and socialist democracy do not represent some sort of ideal, closed and static systems, but living, constantly developing organisms which cannot avoid various difficulties and shortcomings. This is determined by the possibilities of material growth in a society, the degree of dedication among the masses, their political activism and moral maturity, as well as by the fact that socialism does not grow in greenhouse conditions but rather in merciless confrontation with the world of imperialism. The real viability of socialist democracy and development of the moral qualities of a socialist individual is a test of practical application every day. We should not magnify certain mistakes or shortcomings but, by the same token, we should not ignore them or cover them up. We must rather discover them in time, understand them and resolve them in a creative manner. The effectiveness of socialist democracy and standard of socialist morality depend in this respect on a responsible approach of each individual and whole labor collectives to the tasks entrusted to them and their conscientious fulfillment.

Glorification of bourgeois moral values and democracy with attacks against socialist morality and democracy are closely linked with the successes the countries of real socialism have been achieving in their socialist construction. We can say that there is a parallel here, namely, the greater and more lasting the successes of socialism, the greater the assaults on the part of capitalism.

Socialist democracy and morality are an expression of the interests and needs of the broadest strata of the working people. Democracy stems directly from the essence of socialism and only its intensification and expansion can assist in further progress in building a socialist society. Socialist democracy and morality are not some sort of goal for its own sake, or ideal for the sake of an ideal, or a symbol of faith in the new society; they are rather a necessary instrument of the voluntary, dedicated and effective participation of all working people in the political, economic, social, cultural and ideological advance of socialism.

9496

CSO: 2400/130



## GOALS OF REVANCHISM OUTLINED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 22, 1984 pp 48-51

[Article by Jaroslav Kucera: "Revanchism--Specific Variant of Imperialism's Struggle With Socialism"]

[Excerpts] Relative to the sharpening of the international situation in the early 1980's, which is the consequence primarily of the policy of American imperialism, there has been a marked resurgence of the revanchist forces in the German Federal Republic, forces striving to alter the territorial, political, and social status quo in Europe.

The principal target of revanchism's attention since the Second World War has been the question of the reunification of Germany, the rectification of its eastern borders, and the post-war expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe. Contemporary revanchism realizes that, given the international position of the FRG and the strength of the socialist community, it cannot focus on independent political action as was the case prior to the Second World War; therefore, it tries to sandwich its demands into a sort of all-European framework which could make possible their fulfillment. The result is supposed to be the creation of a "united Europe," naturally on a capitalist base. Only following European unification would it be possible to revise or to remove in a peaceful way the existing borders. In this unified capitalist Europe the Germans would assume the leading role due to their human and economic potential, which would be even strengthened by the most industrialized regions of Poland and Czechoslovakia. A Europe "unified" in this fashion would represent an unquestionably significant component even on a global scale; in other words, the German bourgeoisie would quickly acquire an opportunity to rule on questions affecting the entire world.

The main obstacle on the road to a "unified Europe" are the countries of the socialist community, headed by the USSR; consequently, contemporary revanchism stands on clearly anticommunist and anti-Soviet positions. Anticommunism not only expresses a concrete direction and character of specific revanchist goals and demands, but is also a common denominator in the interest of which revanchism is willing to tolerate even those political forces and circles which do not directly advocate revanchist positions. Through its demands to dismantle the alliance of the socialist countries, and thus to liquidate

socialism in them, revanchism personifies the overall interests of the bourgeoisie, while in its views on future arrangements in Europe it also parallels the specific interests of the German bourgeoisie which, as seen by the legalities of imperialism's development, will eventually turn against their current French, British, American and other allies. There is no reason to doubt this, since behind the revanchist forces stand the same socioeconomic forces which nurtured Nazism and which are now supporting its new incarnation. The fact that many of the leading members of the "landsmanschaft" brotherhood are or have been members of Nazi or neonazi parties is amply illustrative of this.

A specific instrument of revanchism in the FRG are the expellee organizations that sprang up on the territory of the Western occupation zones immediately after the Second World War. Their initial establishment was prompted not only for revanchist but also economic and social reasons. The fact that revanchist demands soon appeared in these organizations was the result of the very bad social position of the expellees, whose plight was largely ignored by the authorities, plus the need of the West German bourgeoisie to create some sort of platform on which they could publicly base demands for a revision of the outcome of the war. The demand to return to the "old homeland" was from the expellees' vantage point the most convenient way to improve their precarious social conditions.

Cooperation between the revanchist associations of the expellees and the state has always been and continues to be very close and represents shared interests. On the one hand, without the support of state agencies of all echelons, the revanchist associations would sooner or later be doomed to extinction; on the other, their activities and shrill propaganda help formulate public opinion, even though often more alleged than real, and allows the state agencies and rightist political parties to exploit this situation in the formulation of their own revanchist demands. The landsmanschafts often interpret demands of the German bourgeoisie, which cannot be voiced at the official government level, thus helping to keep these demands in the subconscious of virtually all classes and strata of West German society. One of the expellee leaders, H. Seehofer, in the early 1950's openly declared that the Sudeten German organizations were not bound by the formal government claim to the borders of 1937: "The German problem will not be resolved by restoring the central parts of Germany. The German East includes not only the Elbe and Oder, but also Bohemia and all other territories once inhabited by Germans." Seehofer's successor as spokesman for the Sudeten German landsmanschaft, W. Becher, quite clearly considers "Bohemia" to be not only the one-time Sudeten German districts created by the Nazis but all of Bohemia. Another individual of this ilk, the notorious Lodgman von Auen, active in these circles since the days of the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic, publicly demanded in 1961 that the starting point of German foreign policy be the borders of 1939, when Germany entered the war. One could easily continue in this vein. To prevent the revanchist organizations' natural demise by attrition--which would deprive the bourgeoisie of a valuable political instrument--a law was passed in 1953 extending the privileges of the "exiles" to their offspring (even in cases of mixed marriages) and even their children born on FRG territory.

In the 1980's we see a new trend, which is a logical consequence of past development. The landsmanschafts accept among their ranks even people who have no expellees in their families. This reflects the effort to strengthen the expellee associations with people whose membership is only justified by kindred political convictions.

The politics of revanchism is mirrored in its willful interpretation of the fundamental problems of post-war international development, above all the reunification of Germany and a peace treaty with it. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community have advocated a concept of German reunification on a free, democratic, and peace-loving basis, whereby the future all-German government would pledge not to become a member of any military or political grouping aimed against one of the member states of the former anti-Hitler coalition, and would accept certain armaments limitations. Reunification of Germany was declared an internal affair of the German nation, with the Germans themselves determining the form of their future political and social system.

German reunification, as advocated by the revanchist and rightist circles in the FRG and other Western countries, is tantamount to an absorption of the German state of workers and peasants into an imperialist German state, while the reunified Germany's membership in NATO would remain untouched. These same circles have rejected the concept of a neutralized Germany, with the argument that this would leave the country at the mercy of the USSR and its allies. A peace treaty should then, contrary to the agreements by the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition of the mid-1940's, ratify the German borders of 1937 and guarantee the rights to "self-determination" and "homeland," i.e., guarantee the return of Germans to the territories from which they had been expelled after the Second World War. Any concessions in this concept were proclaimed unacceptable to the FRG ruling circles, for they would allegedly demonstrate the weakness of the Western world and would lead to further and further concessions. A component of this position was also the refusal to deal with the GDR and the other socialist states (except the USSR) on problems of mutual relations. The FRG Government insisted on its senseless claim to speak in the name of all Germans, i.e., GDR citizens as well, refused to recognize, de facto or de jure, the other German state, and ignored all GDR proposals to establish a much-needed dialogue and normalization of relations. In this manner, the FRG deepened the division of Germany and made it more lasting. The progressive forces in the world were aware that a reunification of Germany on the imperialist model would represent a threat to peace, and that such reunification is not feasible unless there occur significant social changes in the FRG which would remove the social and economic foundations of imperialism and lead to the demilitarization and democratization of public life.

While the concept of German unification based on speculation with the force of arms, especially nuclear, was fully in accord with policies of the cold war, the changing balance of forces between socialism and imperialism in the late 1950's and early 1960's caused revanchism to recede somewhat into isolation. Realistically thinking circles in the West, faced with the economic and political successes of the socialist community, came to understand

that the liquidation of socialism through military means was pure nonsense, and began focusing on a long period of coexistence of the two systems, on variable concepts of approaches against socialism, using largely economic and ideological means. The FRG revanchist circles, on the other hand, understood nothing in this and continued flirting with violent means of liquidating socialism, first of all in the GDR, the annexation of which through some sort of "intra-German police action" appeared to them as the fastest and easiest way and as a first step in the achievement of their Eastern claims. The actions on the GDR state border of August 1961, carried out by the GDR Government in concert with the other socialist states, put an end to German bourgeois machinations and clearly showed the limitations of such ambitions.

Adenauer's concept of "Ostpolitik" and the resolution of the so-called German question through force and armament collapsed, and the German bourgeoisie had to look for a new foreign policy variant. During the 1960's trade relations with the socialist countries were intensified, and in the second half of the decade the FRG established diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and Romania, opened negotiations with the USSR and Poland, later with the GDR and Czechoslovakia, on the normalization of mutual relations on the basis of recognition of the current territorial status quo. The aim of this new "Ostpolitik," according to W. Jaksch, former leader of the German Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia and since 1965 "Eastern expert" of the West German SPD, was the separation of Eastern Europe from the USSR by means of a "partnership" or "alliance" with Western and Central Europe.

These were merely old intentions couched in new methods, even though it cannot be denied that the foreign policy of the FRG social-liberal coalition contributed to a lessening of international tension in Europe and removed some of the serious obstacles on the road to Helsinki. While the policy proclaimed that it would continue to take the interests of the expellees into consideration, it nevertheless aroused great displeasure in their ranks. The revanchist associations abandoned their purely formal political neutrality and began openly supporting the CDU/CSU, which had remained on cold war positions. Together with them, the expellee organizations opened a struggle against negotiations with the socialist countries and the subsequent treaties.

In the end, this struggle against the signing and ratification of such treaties came to nought. Nevertheless, during its course there appeared significant documents which show that thoughts of revanchism, more or less, permeate a substantial segment of the FRG political system--state agencies, important political parties, and many social organizations. The first of these documents to which the revanchist circles often refer is the joint resolution of the three parliamentary factions (SPD, FDP, CDU/CSU) which was agreed upon on the day of ratification of the treaties with the USSR and Poland, on 17 May 1972. The resolution states that the Federal Republic assumed the commitments stemming from the treaties in its own name only, that the treaties did not preclude a peaceful arrangement in Germany and did not constitute any legal foundation for the existing borders. FRG policy which strives for the restoration of national unity through peaceful means is allegedly not in conflict with these treaties, whose substance, however, does not represent a recognition of the territorial status quo in Europe and the principle of not levying territorial claims against anyone.



The decision of the Federal Constitutional Court of 1973 speaks in the same spirit. While the decision rejected the Bavarian Government complaint against the alleged unconstitutionality of the FRG-GDR treaty signed in December 1972, the revanchist circles could not have wished for a better-worded rejection. In the court's justification of its decision it is stated that the German Reich continues to exist legally and that the two German states are "parts of a single state which continues to exist, even though this state, for organizational reasons, is incapable of acting on behalf of all of Germany." Consequently, the GDR is not considered a foreign country and the border between the two Germanys is presented merely as a regional dividing line, similar to that between the "laender" in the FRG. The court decision casts doubt on the clear internationally valid character of the GDR-FRG treaty, and through its theses on German citizenship denies GDR citizenship to be a symbol of state sovereignty.

These and other documents, in contrast to ratified FRG treaties, are not internationally binding, but serve the revanchist circles as background to their claims of the openness of the so-called German question, even though this so-called question ceased to exist by the establishment of two independent German states as long as 35 years ago. Relations between the FRG and GDR maintained on such a "legal" basis are, on the part of the FRG, one of the most scandalous historical chapters of relations between two sovereign European states in the post-war period, and prove that German imperialism has not yet abandoned its plans to absorb the GDR as the first step in the liquidation of socialism in Europe and in the world. Even though the revanchists keep talking about their peaceful intentions, in reality they praise and celebrate every step leading to a sharpening of international tension, for which the current FRG Government bears full responsibility. The American policy of feverish armament, expressed in the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, the development of new weapons systems and efforts to militarize outer space, was enthusiastically welcomed by these forces, since their aim is to gain for themselves and other rightists the ideal deployment of forces between imperialism and socialism, namely military superiority of imperialism and thereby the opportunity to conduct a dialogue with the socialist states from a position of strength. Historical experience, which shows that such efforts have no hope of success, is not respected by any of these dangerous "dreamers."

9496

CSO: 2400/104



## EXPENDITURES ON SOCIAL SERVICES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Zdena Stepankova: "On Social Consumption"]

[Excerpts] Expenditures on social services amounted to Kcs 77.5 billion in 1970, 17 billion in 1975, 137.2 billion 5 years later and 158.5 billion last year. On a per capita basis this represents annually Kcs 5,408 in 1970, Kcs 7,230 5 years later, Kcs 8,962 in 1980 and Kcs 10,281 last year.

Statistical analyses divide social consumption into three groups: individual monetary incomes which are not based on distribution according to work performed, products provided free of charge, and services rendered free of charge.

Though not equally, all of them influence our life style. For example, among the services rendered free of charge the largest amount is spent on schools and health care. The same thing can be said of the products provided free of charge. These include textbooks and other school aids, medicines, medical material, meals in school and college cafeterias, hospitals. It happens that man does not appreciate certain advantages he enjoys. The parents of higher school students definitely do not count how much the society contributes to the education of their children, but they do keep account of what they themselves have to pay for it. This is quite understandable.

The so-called monetary incomes account for the largest portion of total social consumption. They include all of social security--including retirement incomes, sickness benefits, financial assistance to the families with children, and scholarships--in other words, direct financial incomes. We frequently encounter the view that people collect from the common treasure--social consumption is meant by this--what they have saved over the years. Man not only creates value by his work, but he also contributes in the form of the wage tax which is regularly withheld from his wages. Over the years, this is by no means a small amount.

It is certain that society can distribute only as much as its economic situation permits. It is essentially as in a family. The slogan that "our future living standard will depend on how we work today" is therefore pertinent. The advantage of social consumption is that it provides means according to the citizens' needs, and not according to what they have contributed by their work to the common treasury. Let us consider, for example, assistance to families

with children. It is quite extensive. Beginning in January 1985, the maternity allowance is increased because women with one child will be entitled to it. This is another significant help to newlyweds. Every family with one child will thus receive, including the child care allowances, Kcs 800 every month and, in addition, the father will have his wage tax reduced. To the families with two children, as long as neither of them is 1 year old and the mother stays with him at home, society contributes Kcs 1,210 in the form of child care and maternity allowances until 1 January 1985, when the contribution will increase to Kcs 1,250. These are by no means small amounts.

Expenditures on health care have almost doubled since 1970. The biggest item is expenditures on medicines. Medical science offers more effective but also more expensive drugs for many diseases. This is a fact that the individual does not realize because he does not pay for the drugs. Among the items of social services there also are subsidies for passenger transportation, which exceed Kcs 10 billion annually. Society contributes more than Kcs 6 billion to housing every year.

We have quoted enough figures. Although not all of them have been cited, they amount altogether to Kcs 158.5 billion spent annually on social services. This is an amount which affects our living standard very significantly. But the most important thing is that it is the guarantee of social security for every citizen. It is proper to remind all of us that we can spend our monthly pay according to our own judgment because we do not have to have special savings in case of illness or for somebody's studies, because all these costs are paid for out of the common treasury, which is called social consumption. It depends upon the further development of our economy, upon the work results put into the common state treasury. As is clear from the data cited above, the total amount of social consumption has continued to increase. In comparison with 1970 it has doubled.

10501  
CSO: 2400/91

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### RELATIONS WITH BURMA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Milan Madr]

[Excerpt] Recently in Czechoslovakia there took place an official visit by the Chairman of the Government of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, U Maung Maung Kha, at the invitation of the chairman of the Federal Government, Lubomir Strougal. His stay and the discussions by the two premiers are an active contribution to the further development of Czechoslovak-Burmese relations. We have had contacts with Burma, sometimes called the crossroads of Asia, for many years, especially in the economic area. The number of Czechoslovak enterprises and equipment in Burma is evidence of the solid work and reliable reputation of our industry abroad. The overall nature of our relations with this country has been good for many years, based on mutual trust. There are no questions of conflict between the CSSR and Burma. This makes for a good basis for further development of cooperation in the future, which is improved even further by the fact that both countries have a sincere interest in it. In the past few years construction or reconstruction of capital investment projects in cooperation with the CSSR are being completed on the basis of the Treaty on Economic Cooperation of 1978 and further agreements of 1981. Most of these have already been finished. The time has come for appropriate discussions of opportunities for future years. The thinking of both parties on this matter shows that there are a great number of specific suggestions as to how the CSSR can contribute to efforts to industrialize Burma to a greater degree in the future. These are the prerequisites for a more deliberate intensification of cooperation so that Czechoslovakia will play a greater role. The fact that Czechoslovakia, as announced by Chairman of the Government L. Strougal, has decided to expand the market for Burmese export commodities will help. In the joint press release, it is said: "Both officials devoted special attention in their discussions to economic cooperation, which particularly in recent years has rapidly developed to a good level. In this context, they reviewed the interests and capabilities of both countries for further intensification of trade exchanges and industrial and scientific-technical cooperation in keeping with the long-range plans for development of their national economies." In the spirit of its demonstrated traditional relations with developing countries, Czechoslovakia is also eager to help train Burmese specialists for various sectors of activities. Economic and trade relations are the focus of mutual relations. But there are other areas in which cooperation so far could be raised to a higher level to the

benefit of both countries and their peoples. In connection with this, the joint press release states that both representatives expressed their belief that "a systematic exchange of experiences in the fields of culture, science, education, medicine and information would be a valuable contribution to further enrichment of mutual relations."

6285

CSO: 2400/110

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CONTACTS WITH MEXICO

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Ladislav Alster]

[Text] Official diplomatic relations between the United States of Mexico and Czechoslovakia were established in 1922 and in 1959 were raised to the embassy level. Mexico recognized the Czechoslovak Republic even during the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by the German Nazis from 1939 to 1945. After the USSR, Mexico was the second country in the world which clearly repudiated the Munich Accord in 1938. The obliteration of the town of Lidice and the murder of its inhabitants caused great shock and sharp protests among the Mexican public. Many Mexican girls born after that event were named Lidice. The town of San Jeronimo (now part of the capital, Mexico City) was renamed San Jeronimo-Lidice. We will never forget that stand on principle by the Mexican Government and people. Czechoslovakia also gave great attention to the 100th anniversary of the death of the great Mexican revolutionary and patriot, Benito Juarez. As part of the celebrations in Prague, a monument to him was unveiled. The friendly relations between the two countries have a long tradition. We will give just two examples out of many. The Czech botanist and traveller Benedikt Roezl lived in Mexico for 18 years in the last century. He worked out landscaping in trees and flowers for the capital which is substantially still used today. During the infamous adventure of the "Mexican Emperor" Maximilian of Hapsburg (brother of the Austrian Emperor Franz Josef), he even commanded the revolutionary Mexican garrison at the port of Santocomoron and prevented the landing of the interventionist forces of the French Emperor Napoleon III. "Don Benito," as the Mexicans called him, has an important place in Mexican history.

To give another example, at the beginning of this century the world famous anthropologist Alex Hrdlicka spent time in Mexico studying the question of the origin of the Indians and other inhabitants of the New World. There are economic contacts between the two countries which have been going on for more than 60 years. After Cuba, Mexico is our most important trade partner in Latin America. The recent official visit by the chairman of the CSSR Government, Lubomir Strougal, to Mexico and the subsequent CAMEXPO 84 exhibition, for which the CSSR was made coordinator, are definite contributions to a further strengthening of friendship between the two countries and their economic cooperation.

6285

CSO: 2400/110



CHANGE IN UNIVERSITY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION REVEALED

Prague UCITELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech 15 Nov 84 p 9

[Interview with Professor Frantisek Fediuk, DrSc, director of the Department of Universities within the CSR Ministry of Education, by Jarmila Savicka; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] The requirement that university and college graduates have a better command of foreign languages ties in with the entire concept of restructuring the content of the curricula and stems from the demands that the flow of information, the intensity of international relations in the areas of science, technology and the economy, and society's development place on education. We have been finding for some time that the graduates' training in foreign languages, with few exceptions, is not what it should be. We interviewed Professor Frantisek Fediuk, director of the Department of Universities within the CSR Ministry of Education, on how this situation can be remedied.

[Question] What command of foreign languages should graduates of the various higher educational institutions have?

[Answer] It is common knowledge that the situation in this respect is unsatisfactory. This was established at the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's session on 2 March of this year. Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, also emphasized this at the statewide conference of teachers. Therefore we must not only consider these problems, but also propose specific ways of resolving them.

At the same time, it cannot be said that the level of foreign-language instruction and training in higher educational institutions has noticeably worsened. It is the same as before, but the demands have increased. This ties in with the developments in science and technology, with the information explosion. We cannot expect future specialists to make do with what they find covered in their textbooks or what they will read in various journals, with a delay of 3 to 5 years. If knowledge is to be applied to practice, one must work with it immediately, which means tapping the primary sources of information, and they of course are mostly in languages other than Czech. Many students and graduates of higher educational institutions are unable to do this at present. But

even a reading knowledge of foreign languages is no longer adequate. There is need also for ability to communicate in foreign languages. This need stems from the expansion of international relations, and also from the fact that we are sending more and more of our specialists abroad: doctors, geologists, engineers and other professionals. Naturally, they must have not merely a reading knowledge of the given region's language, but must also be able to express themselves in it. However, the present level of proficiency in foreign languages is very poor for this purpose.

[Question] What are the causes of these shortcomings, and how can the situation be improved?

[Answer] The causes of this unsatisfactory situation should be sought already at the very beginning of school attendance: in grade school and secondary school. In other words, this is not a question that concerns higher education alone. We elaborated a set of measures to make foreign-language instruction in higher educational institutions more effective. This set of measures has not been implemented so far; it is being modified in accordance with the nature of the individual schools and faculties. We expect that it could bring about some improvement. The basic principle from which we start out is that we will not attempt to do what we have been attempting so far, i.e., to achieve the same level of proficiency in foreign languages in all university and college students. Instead, we will start out from the actual and very diverse level of proficiency with which the students come to the higher educational institutions. Some freshmen have already passed the state examination in a foreign language, while others are still wrestling with the beginner's difficulties in the university or college. Unfortunately, the latter are in a majority.

Therefore our proposal calls for a differentiated approach to the students. We wish to raise every student to the level of which he is capable. In majors other than languages, for example, we recommend that gifted and well-prepared students take also an elective two-semester, two-hour/week course in Russian, in addition to the required course in Russian of the same duration. The average student will be able to complete a two-semester, four-hour/week elective course, in addition to the required basic course. In a departure from past practice, every foreign-language course will end with an examination. In this way we will be underscoring the importance of foreign-language courses.

So far as a second world language is concerned, we accept the fact that English is the most important second foreign language in most majors. In the past, a student could freely choose the second foreign language he wanted to study. But now the second foreign language most important in a given major will be specified and will be a required subject. Although this language will be English for most majors, there are majors where the second language will be German (for history majors, for example), or even French, Italian or Spanish in the case of certain special majors. The students who are beginners will get the mandatory four-hour/week course for two to four semesters, as required. This is a fairly heavy workload. In addition, for gifted students there will be also an elective course, two hours/week during two to four semesters. Even freshmen who already know the language will take a required two-hour/week course one year, and then an elective four-hour/week course during two to four semesters.

Russian, of course, will remain the No 1 foreign language. Its importance for university and college graduates is rising constantly, especially because a large volume of foreign literature gets to us in the form of up-to-date Russian translations that the Soviet publishing houses are putting out.

[Question] We have discussed mainly the organization and length of foreign-language courses. What will change in teaching methods?

[Answer] It would be meaningless to increase the volume of instruction without devoting attention to its quality as well. Therefore we must consider also the didactic aspect of foreign-language instruction. I believe that we have made only very modest progress during the past 10 to 15 years, and many of the countries that were trailing us are now ahead of us. Therefore the elaboration of qualitatively different, new methods of language instruction occupies a prominent place in our set of measures. This ties in with the manpower situation of the departments of foreign languages. The personnel structure of these departments often is not in accord with their main mission--language instruction. Mainly the effective component, applied linguistics, must be reinforced, by increasing the number of lecturers. Scientific research into languages should be done elsewhere, and these departments should first of all teach.

Another task is to foster interdisciplinary relations, to gain the support of the professional subjects' teachers for the importance of teaching students foreign languages, and to exploit the prestige of such teachers to this end. Foreign study tours must likewise be better utilized in the pedagogical process, and students must be persuaded to actively apply the knowledge they have gained.

Our basic intention is not to let anyone remain average unnecessarily, but to enable him to use his talents. The mastering of a foreign language is a result of the interplay of several factors. The first prerequisite is talent, a factor which we have rather neglected up to now, but we intend to remedy this in the new concept. The second factor is the student's attitude. Here no decree of the ministry can be of any help, unless all university and college teachers help to create an atmosphere in which the knowledge of foreign languages is essential. The last but by no means least factor is the personality of the teacher. Unless he is able to arouse the students' interest and activity, all the measures will be to no avail.

1014

CSO: 2400/139

POLEDNIK TALK TO YOUTH UNION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Nov 84 p 2

[Speech by J. Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the Nationwide Higher School Conference of the Union of Socialist Youth in Bratislava]

[Excerpt] Our communist party, responsible state offices, and ministries pay much attention to the institutions of higher learning. However, this care--no matter how intensive it may be--cannot bring desirable results if the students themselves do not contribute significantly to achieving the set goal. Higher school students are adults and bear great social responsibility. Yet this responsibility, the responsibility of adult people, does not always manifest itself fully.

The students come to the higher school in order to learn. Although everybody knows this, the results achieved by many students do not conform to this goal. Very often it is the parents and relatives who are mainly worried about the procedure preceding admission to a higher school. They write the appeals, hunt for connections with the "proper" people. And some young people pretend that all this is of no concern to them. Where is their responsibility? Another example: hundreds of engineers complete their higher education every year. By far not all of them are willing to work as production organizers. They look for a position in administration, in a warm office, and are afraid of responsibility. Some graduates prefer to work in subordinate positions rather than move from their town and work in Northern Bohemia or in a borderland area. This is true not only of young engineers but also of physicians and teachers.

It is impossible to deny this. Likewise, it is impossible not to point out that some young people should demonstrate more social responsibility, more "drive" and independence. Nobody benefits from excessive comfort, from reliance on somebody else's help only. This is not dignified for the young generation, and does no credit to the young generation.

The demands on the higher school graduate are high today. He should be a person who has mastered the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, knows the goals of the communist party and socialist state, has good scientific and practical training, and is an expert in his field. He should be a good organizer, who knows how to deal with people.

School must play the decisive role in the training of experts. There still are many problems in its curricula and teaching process. Many of these problems were discussed at the recent statewide teachers' conference. The reorganization of the school system places considerable demands primarily on the officials, teachers and workers at higher schools.

The Socialist Union of Youth performs an irreplaceable mission in the training of the future intelligentsia. As the documents submitted to this conference reveal, however, there are, apart from the good results, also reservations and shortcomings in the youth organizations' work in these directions.

Let us ponder whether sometimes overactivity, various unjustified reorganizations, the tendency to spell out everything in the most minute details, to control the activity of basic organizations by guidelines and directives, do not lead to formalism in work and to overorganization, and do not render the union activity less effective.

We appreciate the initiative of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth and are glad that together with the Presidium of the Federal Government the governments of both republics have adopted measures in which attention is paid to the improvement of study and social conditions of higher school students. It is desirable that the higher school and territorial bodies of the Socialist Union of Youth demonstrate more initiative in their implementation.

The law on higher schools permits broad participation by youth organizations in the management and life of higher schools and their departments. Not all youth organizations and bodies have made full use of these possibilities so far.

It would be to the benefit of students if the youth union were to pay more attention to the problems of the process of study, to the evaluation of its standards, to the work of dormitory councils, to the cafeteria and disciplinary commissions. Then the authority of the Socialist Union of Youth at colleges would also definitely increase.

10501

CSO: 2400/91



LUCAN ADDRESSES COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 84 p 1

[Article: "International Youth Year"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Coordinating Committee for the International Youth Year, proclaimed by the United Nations for 1985, met on Tuesday in Prague in its constituent session. Its members are representatives of Czechoslovak central state and social organs and institutions, as well as other important components of our political, economic and public life, which are directly involved in the socialist education of the young generation.

Federal Deputy Premier Matej Lucan, entrusted with chairing the committee, noted that the decision to proclaim the International Youth Year was prompted by the fact that the youth of all continents exhibit increasingly firm determination to contribute actively to the resolution of all urgent problems of the contemporary world and to participate in the formulation of its future.

Consequently, the meaning of the International Youth Year is also the demand that problems of the young generation attract the attention of government and other institutions in the world to encourage their efforts in resolving the basic problems of the young, such as, for example, appropriate professional preparation, enhancement of their educational and cultural opportunities, creation of broad social and health care conditions, with emphasis on social security. However, according to Matej Lucan, the goal of preparations for the International Youth Year in the capitalist countries is to prevent its becoming a platform for denunciation of unemployment among the young, demand for improvement of their dire social conditions in the Western countries. This is an attempt to disrupt the unity of the young, especially in the struggle for peace.

The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, which will be held in Moscow, must be considered the principal event of the coming year. Its slogan, "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, for Peace and Friendship," fully expresses the aspirations and essential interests of progressive young people of the world. The care for our young generation is the concern of socialist society as a whole, continued Matej Lucan. On this occasion, we are able to document our successes in the sphere of education, health and social care, application of

socialist democracy, advancement of culture, sport, as well as the very active participation of Czechoslovak youth in the life and work of our society.

In a discussion, members of the committee exchanged views on how best to meet the ideological substance of the International Youth Year in Czechoslovakia, how to enrich in its course the aims of the communist party and the socialist state. directed at further intensification of the care for the overall progress of the young generation.

9496

CSO: 2400/129

## BRIEFS

TRAVEL IN CSSR--This year's tourist season was affected by cold and rainy weather, especially in July and the beginning of August. Even so, it was a busy one and we were able to provide satisfactory services to millions of our citizens for their vacations in various corners of our country and abroad. Interest in staying within our country and getting to know it increased. The tourists found better accommodations. Food services were expanded, for example, in Mariánské Lázně, Cheb, Jablonec nad Nisou, around water such as the Rozkos dam, and near rapids and elsewhere. Agreements between the housing operators and health spas also made it possible for tourists to make use of local facilities. This is a good arrangement and should be more widely used. Hundreds of thousands of families spent their vacations, especially in July and August, in the USSR, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and elsewhere. Almost 5 million people made foreign trips this year, for longer periods or on excursions. [Excerpt] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 84 p 2] 6285

CSO: 2400/110

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WRITER INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES

East Berlin WEIMARER BEITRAEGE Vol 30 No 11, Nov 84 pp 1884-1897

[Interview with Stephan Hermlin by S. Schlenstedt]

[Text] [Question] In the German socialist movement of the twenties as well as during the period of the struggle against fascism the direct connection between literature and art and the political struggle is particularly clear to see and consequently it constitutes an immediate ideological mission. Now that did not apply to all European countries; it did not apply to France, for example. I recently read an article in the Resistance periodical L'ETERNELLE REVUE, which published a first poem of yours in French translation still during wartime. In an issue of that journal, which came out immediately after the end of the war, there is an article dealing with the possibility to convey meaning by means of color and the entire piece consists of a series of quotations without comment ranging from Novalis and Rimbaud all the way to Aragon and Rene Char. It is a disquisition on an esoteric issue of poetic production which would have been quite unthinkable, I would say, in German antifascist journals in 1945. This specific way of linking poetry and politics which existed in the French Resistance and which differs from the earlier style of German literature—did that cause an affinity between yourself and French literature. Or more specifically—what kind of affinity did your experiences in France cause to arise ?

[Answer] There are specific reasons for the fact that that is the way things were in France. You could boil it down to a simple formula and say that the point of departure for German antifascist literature was political and that of French literature was literary. German antifascist literature grew directly out of the struggle against fascism in Germany; out of the horrendous ideological as well as physical confrontation between fascists and antifascists. In France, the problem was different: they were engaged in a national defense struggle against a foreign invader. The aim was not only to destroy France as a national entity, but also to destroy French tradition, French culture and French sensibility. The French defended their traditions. Starting at a certain point, to be sure, this played something of a role in our case as well but there were

only a very few major German artists who recognized and emphasized this aspect of the fight against fascism. The most visible among these, I would think, was Johannes R. Becher. I would merely remind you of the famous sonnets he wrote in Moscow about great German historical figures such as Gruenewald, Riemenschneider, Hoelderlin and others. It probably sounded a little odd at the time when Becher said "I will not willingly surrender a single, solitary sound or bit of color to you." Among the German antifascist artists and writers this did not elicit great response. They were probably quite surprised because they had not been thinking along these lines. In the case of the French, it is different. They lay stress on their traditions. The example you cited—you cited names like Novalis and Rimbaud; those were the sacred cows of the surrealists which included not only Frenchmen but also artists from other countries. Just think of the famous painting by Max Ernst which shows the great exponents of surrealism in the company of their spiritual progenitor Dostoyevsky. Along with a great many other artists, the surrealists were part of the intellectual resistance movement. To be sure, the original surrealist group itself hardly existed any more but surrealism as such had already become a national tradition in the France of the war years. For that matter, it still displays a tremendous vitality in France to this very day. That is why, I suppose, this series of names was compiled and why the concept of color was linked with poetry. The individual surrealists had these things within themselves and developed them further quite logically in their literary output and their journals. Thus, literature initially comes from literature and not from politics.

[Question] Not from politics—but only in terms of its themes ?

[Answer] Yes, of course. One might cite the perhaps most important French literary journal appearing legally at the time; the journal POESIE published by Pierre Seghers. The Resistance, you see, had publications which were illegal and others which were legal appearing right under the Germans' noses. POESIE began coming out in 1939 at the start of the war while France was still independent and continued to appear through the defeat and throughout the German occupation. It came out as POESIE 40, POESIE 41 and so on. Leafing through those journals today, one can see that they contained altogether non-political items for the most part and yet they were read as if they were political. They had a political meaning for every Frenchman because they represented and defended national independence. (Those contributions which had a more immediate political content were written in a kind of slave language.) It was clear to see that anyone who rose to the defense of France's history, its art and its traditions had already taken his position on the side of the Resistance; because the collaborators—there were well-known French writers who did collaborate—did not mention French traditions. They could not because instead they were



trying to convince their countrymen that France would only have a place in Europe's future—including the field of culture—by kowtowing to Hitler Germany; by making common cause with Hitler Germany. This handful of collaborators which were collected in the main in the pages of the journal LA GERBE [The Sheaf]—to the casual observer they were far more politically-minded than the Resistance which, for want of a better expression, was a great deal more artistic in its outlook. It is an odd situation that art itself and the appeal to the artistic temperament can take on the trappings of resistance.

[Question] Could we get back to my question regarding your affinity to such currents in French literature ?

[Answer] I would not call it an affinity. There were a great many people in the postwar years who kept on linking me to the French and who maintained that I was a surrealist myself—which is a lot of nonsense. But the French approach to art is more akin to my own spirit. It bothered me when my countrymen went in for an excessive emphasis on politics in dealing with art—in areas where there is absolutely no need for it. So there certainly is a greater sympathy for the French approach which deduces the need for the political—for a political position—from the artistic things themselves rather than for a point of view which started out with a prescribed political position which in the end made a discussion about art virtually impossible to all intents and purposes. A number of leading German socialist writers have never managed to get over this position and then proceeded to propound it in a strictly subjective manner. I was pretty well acquainted with Erich Weinert—a man I admired greatly and whom I still admire greatly today in his particular way. But I also knew that it was practically impossible for Weinert and me to have a conversation about matters of art. If I mentioned just a few names of revolutionary German writers—I do not want to name any names—well, that in itself was quite unacceptable to him.

[Question] Because a certain age left a strong imprint on him; a time in which he achieved a lot by means of direct political exposure as a poet of the spoken word, as he put it...

[Answer] Certainly. That is another way of saying that to his mind there was no lyric poetry worthy of the name except his own which was grandstand poetry pure and simple; the kind of poetry that dealt with current events and could be and in fact was recited at political meetings each evening.

[Question] The direct linkage between artistic activity and the political struggle was at least a necessary transition stage in Germany during a certain period and it did result in great new departures.

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] In one of the conversations which Bunge recorded with Hanns Eisler in 1962, Eisler, who did a lot to bring this transformation process in art about in this century and constantly mirrored it as well, did some thinking about a possible change at some later date. He spoke of the course of art and of its transformation by stages—from the original function of art to the confrontation of mankind with its environment; emancipation during the bourgeois age; the autonomy of art; the withdrawal of that autonomy by the working class; linkage to political purposes; art in the service of political combat—all this would have to be and would in fact be overcome as part of what he called a neo-transformation which would liberate art once again. He envisioned a retraction of the retraction; a kind of art in the distant future which was free of the day-to-day strictures of society and pure poetry performing a natural function as part of a perfect, free society. I find the idea of the possibility of catching up with and overhauling the present age very exciting because it provides us with an opportunity of integrating present socialist society in the grand flow of history. My question is: how do you feel about this idea of a return to another function of which Eisler spoke—an art which is not tied directly to political struggle and the transformation of society and the restoration of ease, fun, delight and an understanding of self through art?

[Answer] I knew Eisler very well and I had a good many such conversations with him. The fact is that I cannot say much more about this than that I agree. From time to time, I commented on these problems myself and made my position clear. Of course I do not believe that the creative personality is someone who is permitted to do things that are forbidden to others. He, too, has an obligation to society to fulfill and he takes sides—particularly in crucial situations—when the very survival of mankind is at stake. But I do think that every talented artist is also inspired by the desire to give expression to and to deal with something other than the trivial details of everyday politics. That cannot be the task of art; in fact, it never was. Throughout its entire history, art has tried to provide answers to the great existential questions. I would not exclude fun and delight, as you have put it; there is room for that although it is not exactly my cup of tea. But in any event—I do agree with Hanns Eisler. If there is to be a classless society of which we are all dreaming, then that will happen all by itself.

[Question] I think that day-to-day political life is only part of the problem. The political age we live in has brought about a distinct and direct link to political life and that has also left an imprint on how people read even when the subject matter is not merely commonplace. How can one live with this, knowing that there is something else but that the times are such that this type of thing predominates?

[Answer] There is Brecht's well-known statement about the times when it is no longer permissible to talk about trees...Inside every one of us there is something that rebels against this type of thing. Even during the times of great struggle certain artists still show that man simply is not made for such times in the final analysis. I am not an apolitical individual. I could not be one even if I tried. But I do realize that this is a transitional stage and not a final one. As a consequence—and there is evidence of it among many people—there is a will emerging among the revolutionary artists of our time to go beyond these limits; at least now and again. And as for the overall human aspects (a concept I, of course, do not place in quotes) which are criticized and looked down upon by some...

[Question] Yes, but what do they really mean ?

[Answer] [These aspects include] everything that happens; everything which takes place all around us; all the things we wish for, we dream of and everything that helps us transcend our own ego. In short, life as such and not merely political life; an expression of the fact of which Engels reminds us when he says that man is not only a social being but also a natural being.

[Question] In 1981, you wrote a very brief piece entitled "An Observation by Paul Valery" and in that piece, which amounts to something of a hint rather than an exposition, you cited a contradiction between your own early concept of art and the conception of art—or rather the uses to which art was being put by the political movement you had joined. "I found it unthinkable [you wrote] to view the quality of a piece of poetry with equanimity and to content myself with the idea that it simply was expressive of something or other." And in that same piece you also said something similar to a point you had already raised in "Abendlicht" [Evening Light]: "Strangely enough, I decided right then and there to remain faithful both to my political convictions and the teachings of Valery." Now let me ask you this: How is one to reconcile this contradiction when you are inside the movement; when you are politically active in it—which you were from the very start—/and/ you want to remain true to your art ?

[Answer] That is very hard to do. There is nothing more to be said about it than that.

[Question] But somehow one does cope with it—perhaps not right away and there probably was an awareness of it in different ways at different stages.

[Answer] That fight is being fought every day, with varying success. It is a very bothersome business in any event. There may be times in which it gets to be unbearable; when one is subjected to strong out-

side pressure. These days, it is a little better. One does not take note of the outside pressure as much any more. In a sense, one has gotten over it.

[Question] But perhaps there has been some change on the other side as well. Is there a greater readiness to accept art for art's sake ?

[Answer] Yes, we won that fight; at least temporarily.

[Question] In "Abendlicht" you also referred to this contradiction. You wrote there that you tried to change, based on your own convictions and that the desire to be of use predominated for a time. Now that has some bearing on what you said in the piece on Valery. To make oneself politically useful—or at least the way you described it—would mean in a society that was just getting started that you would have to adjust to the ways people are used to dealing with art (which are not terribly sophisticated) as you try to write something new for the masses. Was that of any consequence during the first years of the GDR's existence ?

[Answer] Happily enough, I managed to get over my bad conscience—because that is really what it is: bad conscience. There are preachers who are assigned to their positions who keep a watchful eye on artists, writers and musicians to see whether they are being useful and whenever the time comes they will tell them in the rudest possible way that they are living and working without any purpose at all. And perhaps there is a connection there in the sense that one tries so hard to make oneself useful. But on the other hand, one holds on to certain principles because of one's inner convictions—as for example to the principles enunciated by Valery. It is very hard to make a judgment; one does not really know enough about oneself. I only know that I myself have gotten more relaxed with regard to accusations and threats of this type. To be sure, there still are representatives of this particular discipline in our midst. Even though they have not been as vociferous in the recent past because the situation is not as favorable for them as it used to be, they are still around and will come back out into the open, if and when the time was ripe. And although one knows how obtuse they are, there are times when one can be pressured by them. One has the feeling that somehow there are unnamed masses lurking behind their angry, evil pronouncements who are staring at one, as it were, and are asking for things which one is not giving to them in sufficient quantity. And that is where the bad conscience comes from. But the truth of the matter is that we are dealing with masses who are artistically impoverished because entire generations have been shut out from contact with art, from educational opportunity and as a result of being shut out for so long they react in this insecure and narrow-minded way. These people, who would like to speak for the masses, have hardly anything in common with these masses in the final analysis. They have assumed the part of



disciplinarians, reminding one of the Sergeant Himmelstoss character in a famous novel by Remarque. But, as I said, time marches on and the Himmelstosses of this world no longer make an impression on us. Inside oneself, one learns to differentiate very clearly between them and the masses—which are still there as they always were. They are the ones you have to take care of, if you call yourself a communist. They are not to be forgotten! Socialist writers have a socialist ethic and whether they want to or not they are beset by the same question every time they sit down to write and that question is: Can I help mankind advance just a little by my writing? In that sense, one acts as one's own disciplinarian. It is not an easy life but there is no other way of living it. One has to accept oneself the way one actually is at this particular juncture and at the same time one always carries inside oneself the writer, composer or artist one will be in some future society where one can be a singer of songs—as in the ballad by Goethe.

[Question] In my work I have tried to obtain some clarity about the following: writers and artists who either joined or sympathized with the socialist movement during the course of this century—such as Eisler or Becher; Brecht or Seghers—wanted to and actually did bring a variety of dowries into this movement. My question is concerned with one specific aspect of your own work: ever since you started your writing career you have published essays and commentaries, starting with the small volume entitled "Ansichten" [Viewpoints] which grew out of your work at the Frankfurt radio station and including "Lektuere" [Readings] and volumes of poetry over the years all the way to an important publication like the "Deutsches Lesebuch" [German Reader]. "Abendlicht" contains this aspect as well—this attempt to familiarize the reader with books and their authors; to introduce society to what made you like these books and what you discovered in them. In my view, that is part of your particular dowry—although I do not know whether you are willing to go along with that. Which approaches do you consider important? Which approaches are you propounding as you present these writings to the reader? After all, the works themselves are rather disparate. Villon or Verlaine are different from Heym and both the "Deutsches Lesebuch" and "Lektuere" contain subject matter different from "Ansichten." Just the same, there is a constant element, to my mind—a basic outlook that runs through all of them—which you consider the proper one and to which you have adhered in these works. My second question is this: Which approaches and which experiences that have been handed down in cultural life through history do you wish to see retained in the present by the material you select and present to the reading public?

[Answer] You are quite right to use the word 'dowry.' Starting at a certain point—I could no longer say exactly when—I realized that there was something useful I could do in this field. As far back as I can remember I had this urge to tell others about things which made sense to me and which I thought were exemplary. That, in fact, is one aspect of socialist consciousness—but in my case it came out before I became a socialist.



[Question] A spontaneous...

[Answer] Yes, it was spontaneous. There is a volume of poetry by Eluard I have always liked which has the title "Donner a voir" or "To Hold Up to View." I always wanted to show people something and that is what I did. Whenever I came across something which I found particularly impressive, I ran up to someone, anyone and said to him 'listen to this' or 'take a look at this.' There is that aspect of spontaneous enthusiasm; of the spontaneous realization of some major achievement—and it may apply to all sorts of things. My approach to this phenomenon is never to put a question to myself such as 'am I really supposed to admire this; does this hew to a particular line which permits me to admire it.' My point of departure is to admire. I do not think that I have deluded myself: the things I have admired and still do admire are truly admirable. Over the past few years, I have been very pleasantly surprised by the fact that I was able to awaken sympathy for this approach in a great many people and to help them along a bit in the discovery of the riches of cultural life. It makes a big difference whether you simply quote Lenin on occasion who once said that you cannot be a real communist without being aware of all the riches which mankind has amassed in the field of culture during the course of its development or whether you actually hold these riches up to view. When you do quote those words of Lenin's everybody agrees and there is a great deal of nodding of the heads because after all who would want to contradict Lenin? But it is quite different when you start speaking about culture in a straightforward way and about its specific manifestations; about great writers, great composers and great painters. What has struck one about them—that is what one must hold up to view. I am not the type of person who would want to or was able to write monographs; that is not my style at all. What I like very much to do is to place an artistic personality in its own time in an exact way; to portray that personality with a few precise strokes and to point to certain aspects of his work which fascinated me. That is what I did do on a very few pages in each instance. At times, I look with some amusement at other people who are capable of writing 300 pages about some piece of creative work which may very well be very important. As for me, I do not possess that gift. In my case, it never goes beyond six or eight pages and then I get the feeling that I have said everything I could or wanted to say.

[Question] But there is another facet to this work, isn't there—that of wanting to recall something to memory that is worth remembering at this particular time?

[Answer] Yes, certainly. There is a need to pass on to present art and to the present generation of artists a precise and attentive approach to the artists of the past. I think it is very counterproductive, for example, to exercise a kind of self-censorship by raising the question first of all of whether a particular artist is or was a progressive in-

dividual or not. For a start, that is of no consequence at all; but it will come out in time when it becomes clear what his work really stands for. If his work is exemplary in certain ways, then his art may be termed progressive and in such a case it is not of decisive importance what his actual political views may be. I, for instance, have written a short piece on Chateaubriand, a writer I respect a lot. He was a man who, as a member of his class, fought against the French Revolution as did many emigrants who belonged to the French nobility. Later on, he served a good many masters; he held high posts in government; he served Napoleon and still later, he was in the service of the Bourbons. But this account of his life does not tell all. When one reads his unique memoirs, which have only been translated in part into German to this day, then he comes across as a very sublime and very melancholy intellect. Even if he did fight as a soldier, he did not hate those who were on the other side. He did his fighting in response to a specific situation but he was fairly well aware both of the limitations of his own position and the position of his adversaries. Chateaubriand did not hate the French Revolution even though almost all the members of his family ended up on the guillotine and although their castles were destroyed. What is more, he died a poor man even though he had held high-ranking posts in later life. What he really wanted is hard to tell. One does not even get a clear idea of what it might have been after reading the 2,000 pages of his memoirs, his magnum opus.

[Question] And what was your reason for writing about him ?

[Answer] Above all, it was his very beautiful style. I consider that a virtue—particularly in a writer. I will now tell you something that might surprise you. A writer whose style is truly remarkable simply cannot be my enemy. In fact, he cannot really be an enemy of mankind. For another thing, that will to hold on to a certain intellectual independence is something which seems exemplary to me; that will to see things clearly and not to place too high a value on his own beliefs from the very outset but always to factor in the possibility of being wrong oneself. That seems enough to keep him in mind and to keep his memory alive in the minds of men. It was an extreme example I cited just now but this attitude applies to people nowadays just as much. To my mind, there is a need to create a readiness among socialists to listen, to read the texts and to arrive at their own independent judgment about some such complex and odd personality. I did not leave out the divergent views of posterity concerning Chateaubriand—such as that of Karl Marx who wrote very disparagingly about him or that of Heine who enthusiastically praised him. These two names alone are an indication of how complex and odd cultural life really is. Marx was artistically inclined, extremely well educated and he had good taste but he could be wrong—and in this context I would for once put quotation marks around the word 'wrong.' Why ? For Marx, Chateaubriand was an

evil character acting in a very specific historical situation and Marx is even right in judging that episode so harshly. But Chateaubriand is more than that episode alone. And now let me say something which gives you a general idea of my position in these matters. I would like to summarize it in one sentence. A writer amounts to more than the sum of his political statements and insights; he cannot be pinned down to this confined area alone; he must not be judged on that basis alone. That is what I tried to point out in these small volumes and editions and in the "Deutsches Lesebuch," too. And after all is said and done, it does fill me with a certain hope to see how these things were received by an incipient socialist society—namely with great interest. The "Deutsches Lesebuch," for that matter, has also been published in the FRG and has met with a great deal of approval there. But it has been much more widely distributed in the GDR than in the FRG and that means that far more people, simple people, have read the book here in this country. And as much unhappiness as there was about restrictions and excisions from cultural life during certain episodes of socialist development—here we can see (and that is a hopeful sign) that quite a few of these negative phenomena can be overcome relatively quickly.

[Question] You have called attention to the importance of tradition in the absence of which conscious contemporary life becomes impossible. Now in this context the traditions of German culture play an important part of course. As far as your own development goes, did Jewish culture play an exceptional part in it or didn't it? Again and again you make reference to the problem of Jews being able or not being able to live their lives; to the danger of anti-Semitism and to anti-Semitism as an actual force. You have done so right up to the most recent past. "Ein Mord in Salzburg" [Murder in Salzburg], the most recent story of yours I have read deals with this very theme. Is that something that forces itself upon you because of the political situation or are there other factors involved? I ask you this too because people of Jewish origin in Germany generally and in the arts as well were very much assimilated—as distinct from Eastern Europe. In 1933, the majority of these cultural figures, writers and so on thought of themselves as Germans and as part of German cultural life. It was the Nazis who ultimately decreed that these people were something else and that they were to be removed from German life. What kind of an impact did that have on your own development? Is there a specifically Jewish element in cultural life important enough to be pointed out by you today or is the focus above all on that evil political heritage?

[Answer] My response to your question will be somewhat complicated and contradictory. Let me start out by saying that Jewish culture is virtually unknown to me. It has not played a part in my life at all except for the Bible—and that means both the Old and the New Testament. I have read some Eastern Jewish writers in translation such as

Perez and Sholem Aleichem and I have taken note of the artistic output of Marc Chagall or Kaplan. Now the fact is that Eastern Jewish culture—and there is no other Jewish culture than that which was virtually exterminated by the Nazis—is one culture among many and as such it must be defended just like any other. It is important for the continued existence of mankind. Now there is one other kind of observation I would like to make. As a member of a so-called "mixed family"—the Nazis were past masters in coming up with such designations—I came to realize over the past several decades that the Jews who fused with their host peoples throughout Western Europe with whom they had in some cases been living for thousands of years (the German Jews most of all who have probably been resident in Europe longest of all) introduced certain specific characteristics into these cultures to which they belonged. When I was quite young I was deeply offended by the fact that the Nazis branded Heinrich Heine an un-German poet. In the meantime, I have come to accept that. From the standpoint of the ultimate human deformation—namely anti-Semitism, which I would term the most profound humiliation of man of all; now if I did adopt that point of view of the Nazis for a moment, then I really do not wish to have anything to do with what they refer to as the German way. And in that context, Heine really is an un-German poet. But the truth of the matter is that the "de-Judaification" of German culture as practiced under fascism also included so-called Aryan artists of course. Because, if you pursue the fascist line of thinking all the way, authors such as Goethe and Hoelderlin are just as un-German as Heine. Under those circumstances I would be more than happy to be included in the company of Bach, of Mozart, the Freemason and Goethe, the Freemason and others as well as Heine himself and be called un-German myself. If the fascists are supposed to be Germans, then I am un-German. But what I really meant to say was this: that Heine introduced a particular plaintive note and a very characteristic sensitivity into German literature. Though the basic feelings expressed by Heine are similar to those of the other great poets of his time, he does have an added something the others do not have. And that comes out in the "Rabbi von Bacherach" [The Rabbi of Bacherach] as well as in that little poem about all the tears that flow into the River Jordan, which I purposely included in the "Deutsches Lesebuch." The anti-Semites—those who built the funeral pyres—were quite right in feeling that there was something uncanny about all this. They had every reason to feel that way. But I must add—and I am making a very personal statement here—that for a long time I looked upon anti-Semitism and everything else concerning the Jewish question in a certain weak-eyed way. It was all very simple: anti-Semitism is the heritage of class society and it will pass away under socialism. The fact that the Nazis dealt with the Jews the way they did—all the way to Auschwitz—that was cause for me, of course, to feel anger and revulsion; but to a certain extent I had expected them to act that way because it corresponded to their nature and their program. What did make me uneasy, however, was the realization that anti-Semitism not only lives in societies of that



kind but that it is a great deal tougher than I ever imagined. Certain events in socialist countries not only have made me uneasy but are a cause for concern for every single socialist or communist. Nor will I sit idly by and listen to anti-Semitism being belittled. People who found it difficult for years and throughout decades to speak openly about certain things now find it very easy to talk about genocide and such in other contexts. A fateful concept such as this should be used with far greater care—and not only by writers. There are really only two events in the history of the 20th century which fit that description: the slaughter of the Armenians by the Turks almost 70 years ago and the extermination of the Jews at the hands of the German fascists. In addition to that, there have been massacres and atrocities without number. Things like this catch my attention. As before, anti-Semitism, in my view, is fundamentally different from every other phenomenon involving racial hatred and racial persecution. Never and nowhere else on earth has a small minority been persecuted to this day through the use of the same lies and perpetually identical vilification. We must not forget that certain newspapers and magazines resurrected the infamous lies of the so-called Elders of Zion again just a few years ago and that they cited that same totally discredited label all over again. The fact that many people fail to speak out about these things out of a sense of shame does not prevent me from calling them to mind. While I was still quite young—it was decades ago during the war—I wanted to write a story about the persecution of the Jews in a certain country which is about to reach the point of total annihilation. And then the supreme ruler of that country suddenly cries out: 'Stop this immediately because one of them is still alive; and if that last one also dies, we cannot continue our work.' So that last Jew is spared and is taken care of in every way imaginable. I did not write the story. Sometimes, I have the uncanny feeling that the persecution of the Jews will never end; but at the same time I do hope I will be proven wrong—because I like to be proven wrong. To conclude, let me emphasize one thing more perhaps: That specifically Jewish element you asked about—yes, there is such a thing; but these are imponderables when you get right down to it. It exists in German culture; in French, English and in Russian cultural life.

I was very good friends with Ehrenburg and we often talked about these things and Ehrenburg would always tell me the latest news about this subject. He was a deputy to the Supreme Soviet and for years he valiantly fought for the idea of putting up memorials to the Jewish victims in the USSR. There was no memorial at Babi Yar, for instance; which is why Yevtushenko, whom I like a lot for that very reason, wrote that great poem about Babi Yar. In 1961, a few years before he died, Ehrenburg said at a festivity in honor of his 70th birthday: "I am a Russian writer but until my dying day I will profess to being Jewish as long as there still is a single solitary anti-Semite in existence."



[Question] You were deeply involved in the world peace movement of the fifties and made a very strong personal commitment to it. In December 1981, at the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace," which you initiated, you spoke of successes at that time but also of terrible defeats and reversals and you said "there always was a majority that did not hear us." What sort of an imprint did these experiences of the fifties leave on your more recent attitudes? What differences can you see between then and now—also as concerns the possibility of drawing in more people during the past 2 years? At this Berlin meeting in 1981 you also said: "Sometime this year something happened; I do not know exactly, but something has changed..." Now, 1½ years later and in the aftermath of several more writers' meetings, would you be in a better position to say exactly what did change? Can you present some sort of comprehensive analysis of the experiences and results and—particularly in view of the fact that the deadline for the deployment of the new nuclear weapons is drawing near—about the need for action with regard to alliance policy that we socialists have to implement?

[Answer] I have always thought that I had the knack of bringing people together and not to tear them apart. For that matter, that has made a good many people mistrust me; but that cannot be helped. As far as that statement of mine about the majority that did not hear us is concerned, I am afraid that this will continue to be true. That other statement you quoted of 1½ years ago 'sometime this year something happened but I do not know exactly what it was' was not made in reference to the writers but to the peace movement in general. Yes, there was a factor of spontaneity which entered into it in many European countries; there was a type of imagination and there were new indigenous initiatives. But as for a comprehensive assessment, that cannot be made and I myself would not want to make one either. But we have to include in our calculations that as far as necessary alliance policy is concerned we will make the mistake we made before; that we arrive at new insights and a broader perspective not until after it is too late. This time, however, it would quite definitely mean that it was too late. But one has to try, as long as there are any options left at all, to do something in terms of staving off the threat of war. But we are already living under the shadow of that threat.

[Question] For another thing, we are living in a time where the ugly sounds have been on the increase over the past few months and something like a cold war has emerged—and you lived through the original cold war, the old cold war.

[Answer] I had my fill of it.

[Question] ...and you suffered through it yourself.

[Answer] I had my fill of that, too. You know, if one wrote it all down, it would make for a shocking documentation.

[Question] And how do you explain the fact that such phenomena can re-emerge so rapidly or am I being too hasty in my judgment?

[Answer] No, I do not think so. There are some uncanny, deeply rooted animosities; there is a wild, nihilistic wish to show off at all costs. One's own achievements are actually modest; no one has noticed any particular talent—so one turns to assailing others and uttering the most shameless lies. There always are some media which will publish it. One is not contradicted; the only thing that may happen is that there will be a kind of embarrassed silence.

[Question] But that is the very thing that makes it so frightening!

[Answer] Yes, of course it is frightening. But that also is part of the image of man or at least of contemporary man. A small minority can sense what it is all about—that it is a matter of diverting attention from necessary, so as not to say urgent, steps that need to be taken in the common interest. But there is a large slumbering remnant on the other side of anti-communist sentiments and anti-communist prejudices which can always be reactivated; which tries mightily to come out into the open after being kept down during the uneasy period of detente. Just the same, one keeps on trying; what else can one do. One has to try to warn people and to give them courage to say no to the deployment of missiles. We have no other options.

9478

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SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, NOVEMBER 1984

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 12 Oct 84 pp 962, 1056

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and secretary of Economy; pp 971-980. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation with the Country of the Red October

The article analyzes the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, obtaining a new quality by the program of cooperation through 2000, a quality characterized specially by comprehensive intensification. The author describes the measures initiated by our party to implement the resolutions of the economic conference of CEMA member countries at the highest level.

[Summary of lecture by Kurt Hager, member Politburo, Council of State, committee chairman of Public Education, People's Chamber, delivered at the 150th anniversary celebrations for Carl Schorlemmer; pp 981-991. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] The Unity of Science, Education and Culture

Science, education and culture as dialectic unity, the interrelations of which must be consciously utilized. The lecture delivered on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Carl Schorlemmer's birth, illustrates this by processes effected by the scientific-technological revolution in its present stage and illuminates its interrelation with new tasks and opportunities for the influence of education and culture.

[Summary of article by Otto Reinhold, member SED CC, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED CC, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the EINHEIT Editors' Collegium; pp 992-997. A full translation of this article is

published in this report]

[Text] Workers Power for the Benefit of the People

The political stability and dynamic development of our socialist society are based on the political power of the working class, the alliance with the Soviet Union and all other countries of the socialist community as well as on the real strength of leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party. This is impressively documented in Comrade Erich Honecker's speeches and articles 1971-1984, published with the title "Workers' Power for the Benefit of the People."

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Joachim Herrmann, director of Central Institute for Ancient History and Archeology, GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 998-1004]

[Text] "... One of the Fundamental Works of Modern Socialism"

This is how Lenin described Friedrich Engels' paper, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." With this paper, Engels provided the revolutionary workers' movement with scientific weapons which stood the test of the struggle of many generations. In evidence of this, the author deals with historic perception and revolutionary struggle; precapitalist social conditions and socialist revolution; the law of the development of history; the significance of this work for the further refinement of Marxist constitutional doctrine and Engels' comments on the history and future of the family.

[Summary of article by Horst Siebeck, diploma economist, member of political staff of SED Central Committee and Ulrich Schur, diploma journalist, department manager at ADN; pp 1005-1009]

[Text] Mongolian People's Republic: Fundamental Change in Six Decades

The flowering of the Mongolian People's Republic as a dynamically developing socialist agrarian and industrial state--convincing confirmation of successful construction in a country which used to be so backward that its economic and cultural arrears were measured in centuries. The evolution and process of maturation of the working class in the Mongolian People's Republic as the decisive prerequisite of the successes achieved by the Mongolian people under the leadership of the MPRP. The greater challenges arising from the progress of social development

on the leading role of the party in the implementation of the tasks assigned by the Eighteenth MPRP Congress.

[Summary of article by Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for Environmental Protection and Water Management, pp 1010-1017. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Rational Utilization, Development and Protection of the Natural Environment

The SED's environmental policy is an indivisible element of its overall policy, directed to the benefit of the people and the preservation of peace. It is carried out as planned in our socialist state (where protection of the environment is a constitutional duty) with the active cooperation of our citizens in every enterprise. The implementation of the SED's economic policy, based on comprehensive intensification, also serves (as demonstrated by actual examples) the rational utilization of natural resources. The GDR increasingly practices international cooperation in this field.

[Summary of article by Alfred Kosing, Research Department head at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED CC, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences and vice president of the International Association of Philosophic Societies (FISP), pp 1018-1023. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Nature and Society

Is mankind really in an ecological crisis? What are potential solutions to the urgent environmental problems? Following up these questions, the contradictory interrelations between nature and society are examined, the social causes of the increasing antagonism between the two in the countries of capitalism explained, it is demonstrated that socialism has the potential to organize relations to the natural environment consciously, plan-like and rationally and to put them at the service of the people.

[Summary of article by Dr phil Manfred Fiedler, federal secretary of the GDR German Cultural League; pp1024-1028]

[Text] Initiatives for Nature and the Environment

The establishment of the "Society for Nature and Environment" in the GDR German Cultural League provided an opportunity for broad circles of interested citizens in an organized manner to actively participate in the protection, organization and improvement of the natural environment.



What are the concrete opportunities, how does citizen involvement operate? What was achieved since the society's establishment, and what does it consider its future tasks?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ing Manfred Schubert, president of the Chamber of Technology, university teacher at Dresden Technical University, section processing and process technology, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, member of the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig; pp 1029-1033]

[Text] Waste Product Free, Low Waste Product Technologies

The working up and use of waste product free or low waste product technologies--having an important role in our economic strategy--also serve our socialist environmental policy. By lowering specific materials and energy use, reducing the volume of waste and the loss of energy, the recovery of waste products and secondary raw materials management, natural resources are being used more efficiently. How is our society gearing itself to the challenges arising therefrom to research, training and further education, how does the Chamber of Technology assist the accomplishment of the tasks?

[Summary of Article by Hans Brueckner, diploma agrarian engineer, chairman of the Hassenhausen Crop Production LPG; pp 1034-1035]

[Text] Environmental Control within the Purview of our LPG

To raise output, cultivate and protect the environment, these are as one with the objective of socialist farm production. The chairman of the Hassenhausen LPG (crop production) uses his LPG as an example to show how this objective is observed in soil cultivation, field organization, water management measures and the handling of agricultural wastes, and how the cooperative farmers, aided by all social forces of the village, produce in full appreciation of environmental concerns.

[Summary of article by Rudolf Ruethnick, diploma sociologist, deputy minister for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs; pp 1036-1038]

[Text] Our Forest--Source of Raw Materials and Place for Recreation

Forests are among our most important natural resources; the supply lumber as basic and auxiliary material for almost all branches of material production. They regulate the water budget, are the home of flora and fauna and serve recreation. Within the framework of our socialist environmental policy we observe all our responsibilities with regard to their protection and cultivation.

[Summary of article by Gerhard Voigt, diploma engineer, senior engineer, chief, Water Control at the Ministry for Environmental Control and Water Management; pp 1039-1040]

[Text] Rational Utilization and Protection of Water

How large is the natural water supply in the GDR, what is the volume of water needed by industry, agriculture and the general public? What water management measures were adopted for the rational utilization of water--this all important natural resource--, what were the results and what are the tasks remaining to be accomplished?

11698

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MITTAG DISCUSSES CENTRAL ROLE OF GDR-USSR ECONOMIC COOPERATION

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 12 Oct 84)  
pp 971-980

[Article by G. Mittag, member Politburo and secretary of Economy: "Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation with the Country of the Red October"]

[Text] As emphasized by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR Council of State at the Tenth SED Congress, the indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, our republic's solid roots in the community of the socialist states "is and will for ever be our people's stable base of its security and its successes in the organization of the developed socialist society. As in the past, we will in future also contribute to the further consolidation of the unity and integration of our community of nations."<sup>1</sup>

Active Efforts to Consolidate the Fraternal Alliance

The consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union continues to be an indivisible and crucial element in our party's revolutionary struggle. This clear and unequivocal attitude to the Soviet Union as the touchstone for every communist is rooted in the Thaelmann traditions of our party. Our party program says that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is fraternally attached to "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most reliable and experienced communist party which, in the Great October Socialist Revolution, was the first to guide to power the working class, allied with the working farmers."<sup>2</sup>

The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 began a new era in the history of mankind. Led by Lenin, the victorious struggle of the Bolsheviks helped the historical inevitability of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism to break through. The rule of the exploiter class in Tsarist Russia was overthrown, and the birth of a new society--socialism--initiated.

Since October 1917, due to the steady growth in strength of socialism in the Soviet Union and in conditions of a fierce class war, socialism--and with it the ideals of Marxism-Leninism--demonstrated its vitality every day. When we honor the revolutionary and immortal deeds of Russian workers and farmers in those days of October 1917, our respect and admiration are equally due the heroic deeds of generations of the Soviet people, above all the communists,

who have made the present Soviet Union an unconquerable fortress of socialism, the beacon of peoples struggling for their social liberation and the hope of mankind as a whole for a peaceful future. To have achieved victory over the exploiters and to have maintained it by the steady strengthening of socialism in the face of decades of fierce attacks by international reaction--that is the full historical dimension of the struggle of Soviet Communists.

Because CPSU policy builds on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and the powerful development of the Soviet Union has always proceeded consonant with the laws of historic development, the country of the Red October was victorious against Hitler fascism in a sacrificial war and, at the same time, liberated large regions of Europe from the fascist yoke.

The historic opportunity arising therefrom to follow the path of mankind's revolutionary progress to socialism, presented itself to our people also. Building on the deeds of unforgotten antifascist resistance and with the leadership of our party, they were used resolutely to break the power of the imperialist war criminals and monopolies as well as of the Junkers and to establish the GDR, the first workers and farmers state on German soil. The German Democratic Republic has been fraternally associated with the Soviet Union every since its hour of birth. In the first workers and farmers state on German soil, too, that inevitable progress of history from capitalism to socialism continues, which began in Russia in 1917. Each step of our development, in good and hard times, has also been a step toward the consolidation of this fraternal alliance. Accordingly GDR Communists and the people of the GDR now and for ever stand at the side of the victors of history.

With the leadership of the SED, a socialist state arose in the center of Europe, which by its very nature is associated with the Soviet Union by close cooperation, in particular in the field of economics. The GDR, successfully evolving as a socialist state in fraternal alliance with the USSR, is now a stronghold of socialism and peace in Europe. Its political stability, its steadily growing economic capacity also at all times represent a contribution to the consolidation of the positions of the entire socialist community of states and in the common struggle for the security of peace, against the policy of confrontation conducted by the most aggressive circles of imperialism. As the course of history shows, all attacks of the class foes on the build-up and consolidation of the positions of socialism in the GDR have failed, whatever their nature--not least in the economic field. The imperialists did everything possible to strangle the young republic by economic means--ranging from open and hidden embargoes to the entire register of hostile disruption. All these attempts by the revanchists were foiled, because the positions of socialism in the GDR were tirelessly reinforced. In all this time the GDR could always rely on the backing of strong friends, on the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all states of the socialist community. The working people always responded by new and greater performances to each imperialist threat to socialism and peace. The same holds true now, in particular with regard to the international situation, dangerously aggravated by the United States and some of its NATO allies.

At the same time the GDR's development proceeds in constant dispute with the ideology and politics of the ruling circles of imperialism, in particular in the FRG. This ideological struggle is now much exacerbated. We cannot disregard the fact that the missile emplacement is linked with the increased activism of revanchist extremists in the FRG. Ideologues and politicians of the ruling circles talk nonsense about the alleged unity of German history and culture, wishing to use it to "keep alive the German issue." And yet this so-called German issue has long been settled by history. There are two German states, the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist FRG. That is a fact now generally acknowledged, and other than a few people obsessed with the past nobody disputes it any longer. No wishful thinking by revanchist FRG circles will be able to change anything in this historic reality. The successful development of the GDR, against demonstrated in this, the 35th year of its existence, will continue and strengthen the power of socialism.

More and more working people are setting themselves the target to make best performances, once achieved, the yardstick of their daily labors. In the 35th year of its existence, therefore, performances--unprecedented in the history of the workers and farmers power are being achieved. This strengthens the status of our republic and helps us to further successfully realize the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community of nations, directed to the preservation of peace, the avoidance of nuclear disaster, the return to detente and constructive dialogue. To successfully conduct the struggle to prevent a nuclear holocaust, to accomplish the most important task of our age--the preservation of peace--means first and foremost to do everything possible to further strengthen the GDR and its alliance with the USSR.

#### Basic Community of Interests

On the basis of common ideological attitudes, derived from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as the basically identical social and economic foundations prevailing in both countries, the SED and the CPSU are working actively and resolutely for the steady consolidation and deepening of the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR. The reciprocal exchange of experiences regarding important issues of social development is broad, extensive and intensive, not least in the field of economics, at all levels of the party and the state. The network of concrete agreements on cooperation is comprehensive. All this benefits stable and dynamic advances. This intimate and fraternal all-round collaboration between the two parties and states has its formal expression in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid of 7 October 1975.

The treaty opened far reaching prospects for our alliance. Led by the two parties--the SED and the CPSU--all sectors are energetically working for their realization. This steadily closer cooperation serves the further consolidation of the socialist community of nations and the cause of socialism and peace. The unity and integration of the actions of both countries and the further expansion of their relations strengthen the power of socialism on the international stage. We thus provide an effective contribution to the lowering of the international tensions caused by the U.S.confrontrational



policy, to the recovery of the international situation and the development of a mutually beneficial and equal cooperation between states with different social systems.

Included therein as an essential element is the further deepening of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR. Consonant with the importance of the economy for the strengthening of socialism, our party just like the CPSU devotes the greatest attention to the steady expansion of this cooperation. Based on the resolutions adopted by the economic conference of the CEMA member countries at the highest level, it is directed to the provision of an even more effective contribution to the deepening of socialist economic integration.

#### Program Through 2000

When Comrades Erich Honecker and Andrei Gromyko agreed on the long-range program of cooperation between the GDR and USSR in the field of science, technology and production through 2000, they took a historic step toward the deeper interlocking of the national economies of our two countries.<sup>3</sup> In implementation of the Tenth SED Congress and the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress resolutions as well as of the agreements concluded by Erich Honecker and Constantin Chernenko in June 1984, a new phase in the all-round economic and scientific-technical cooperation and interlocking of the two countries; national economies is being initiated.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the economic conference of the CEMA member countries at the highest level, the long-range program provides for far reaching agreements on the deepening of bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR through 2000. Their realization will help even more intimately to organize the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR.

The agreement on this program on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR has drawn great international attention. Once again we demonstrated to the whole world the unshakeable and principled attitude of our party, meaning that the GDR is attached to the GDR in indestructible friendship, that it is for ever rooted in the socialist community.

The program is explicitly based on the economic and scientific-technical potential achieved in the two countries and the results recorded of successful economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. It relies on the policy of the SED and the CPSU, which--in both countries--is directed to the further deepening of the steadily closer political and economic cooperation and the adjustment of the peoples of both states--faithful to the principles of socialist internationalism, friendship and mutual assistance.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the economic conference of the CEMA countries at the highest level, this program serves to make an increasing contribution to the deepening of socialist economic integration generally. Its subject matter is precisely that basic issue of the further economic

performance development, which is in the foreground in the two countries and socialist economic integration generally--the further deepening of intensification on the basis of scientific-technological progress and its speed-up.

It is proof of the extent of agreement with regard to the appraisal of the basic trends for further intensification that the GDR and the USSR have agreed to jointly pursue this path, on the basis of the rapid improvement of labor productivity, the conservation of all kinds of resources, the broad utilization of secondary raw materials and the development of technological solutions and equipment for the reconstruction and modernization of existing production capacities as well as for the substantial improvement in the technical standard and quality of products.

It is from these aspects that the division of labor already in place is being further perfected, the development of specialization and cooperation among the branches of processing industry (in particular machine construction) further pursued. It was therefore also agreed to continue with the comprehensive standardization and integration of production, and to guarantee the compatibility and exchangeability of products on the basis of standardized machine systems, equipment and devices at the highest technical standard.

The explicit orientation--setting the criteria--is to the manufacture and sale of new products at wpr;d standards, and which will guarantee the greatest possible energy and materials conservation, the greatest possible refinement of the raw materials and other materials used as well as the comprehensive mechanization and automation of the main and ancillary process in production.

It is of the utmost importance for the continuing strengthening of the material-technical base of our national economy on the basis of automation that, in accordance with the program, cooperation should be deepened in the field of microelectronics and computer technology (building on the results so far achieved). The field of microelectronics use will be extended, new basic technologies and the development and production of electronic components and microprocessors jointly prepared. This also applies to data processing and automation equipment.

It is all important that in this program the GDR and the USSR are starting from the premise that cooperation with regard to supplies of raw materials and fuels for the national economies of the two countries represents a strategic task of the first order. Involved here is an entire complex of measures, focusing in particular on the economical and rational use of energy and raw materials as well as the perfection of the production and consumption structure.

With a view to continued deliveries by the USSR of the most important raw materials and fuels, the GDR will adopt the necessary measures in the field of investments, reconstruction and modernization of its industry to safeguard production and the delivery of commodities required by the Soviet Union. That applies in particular to the growth of deliveries of high quality industrial consumer goods, some materials and chemical products, modern and highly

productive machines and equipment at world standard. Also included is continued involvement in the construction of capacities in the oil and natural gas industry as well as other branches of extractive industry.

This total cooperation between the GDR and USSR extends to all basic branches of the national economy: To such branches as energy management including nuclear energy, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry, with the objective of the efficient utilization of resources and greater processing refinement.

Particularly important are the provisions on cooperation in the production of food and industrial consumer goods. Based on existing experiences, measures will be adopted to develop the material-technical base of farming, the food industry, processing, the transportation and storage of agricultural produce. At the same time and with the aim of the steadily better satisfaction of the general public's demand for high-quality industrial consumer goods, cooperation will be oriented to the technical reequipment, reconstruction and modernization of factories in the respective branches of industry. Linked with this project is the rise in the production and exchange of modern high-quality commodities in this field, including the development of advanced plant and technological solutions as well as the necessary raw materials and ancillary materials.

This is a truly major program. It harmonizes with the economic policy resolved upon by the Tenth SED Congress and the steps we are now taking to initiate a new phase of their realization. The objectives for the development of the GDR national economy by way of intensification therefore accord with the basic trends of GDR-USSR cooperation now agreed--in the meaning of the total coincidence of the policies of our two parties and countries.

#### Important Aspect of All-Round Fraternal Cooperation

Economic and scientific-technical relations between the GDR and the USSR are organically incorporated in the totality of their relations. Their nature is characterized by the social system of socialism, prevailing in both countries, the economic laws operating in it and the economic objectives of SED and CPSU resolutions derived therefrom. This cooperation is therefore distinguished by comradely aid and mutual benefit. It is characterized by the planned nature of economic development in the two countries. Economic and scientific-technical relations and the assignments and requirements arising therefrom are elements of the state economic plans in the GDR as well as in the USSR and of a mandatory nature for the state and economic organs of both countries assigned to carry them out. This cooperation therefore has an inherent stability and dynamism.

In the 5 years 1971-1975, total GDR-USSR trade turnover already amounted to 99 billion valuta marks. In the subsequent five-year plan period 1976-1980, it increased to 177 billion valuta marks. Based on this high standard, 231 billion valuta marks have already been recorded for the beginning 1980's, that is 1981-1984, in other words far more in the last 4 years than in the preceding 5. The significance of this amount is revealed by the fact that GDR

industrial output per year amounts to around M480 billion--calculated at prices in effect now.

Behind these tremendous dimensions of the reciprocal exchange of goods is a large volume of concrete products from all decisive national sectors: Energy sources and raw materials, semifinished goods, machines and products of the electrical engineering and electronics industry, production equipment and consumer goods. The GDR, for example, received the following from the USSR each year since 1981:

More than 17 million tons crude oil	82,000 tons cotton
6.4 billion cubic meters natural gas	11,000 household refrigerators
3.3 million tons rolled steel	60,000 radio receivers
1.4 million cubic meters lumber	26 million rubles worth of machine tools
740,000 tons wood pulp	

The GDR, in turn, annually delivered the following (among others) to the USSR:

Chemical plant worth 750 million valuta marks  
Electronic computer equipment worth 850 million valuta marks  
Plant for metallurgy worth 500 million valuta marks  
Plant for the textile, clothing and food industries worth 500 million valuta marks  
Outerwear worth 400 million valuta marks  
Furniture and china worth 600 million valuta marks  
40 ships  
100,000 typewriters  
14 million square meters textile floor covering

The reciprocal interlocking includes virtually all branches of the national economy. Its structure is developing consonant with the needs of the national economies of the two countries and largely helps their growth. The entire foreign trade turnover with the USSR thus achieves dimensions which largely determine the entire development of the GDR national economy.

#### New Quality of Cooperation

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR is increasingly guided by the policy of comprehensive intensification, decided upon by the Tenth SED Congress as well as the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress. Aside from its further quantitative expansion, this means the addition of qualitatively new features.

Above all this includes the intensification of cooperation itself. Cooperation has long outgrown the stage of the coordination of reciprocal commodity deliveries and services. In the foreground now are the definition and realization of joint coordinated projects designed to much improve the efficiency of the national economies of both countries. Actively implemented in this spirit are the already adopted measures of specialization and cooperation through 1990. Perceivable successes were recorded in the



improvement of labor productivity and the efficiency of production in important branches and enterprises of the national economy, above all on the basis of steadily expanding cooperation in fields such as science, technology and production, which decide general efficiency.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the two countries are making great creative efforts in order to jointly develop new potentials of the two national economies. Based on the directives issued in this context, the GDR-USSR Equal Government Commission effectively contributes to the implementation of the coordinated economic policy. Many projects have been developed here (and continue to be developed), which are oriented to the implementation of basically new scientific-technical solutions with the greatest possible use value. That also applies to the accomplishment of the assignment (crucial for the realization of the economic strategy), summarized in the term "refinement." This assumes special importance from the aspect of the best possible utilization of domestic raw materials and those supplied by the Soviet Union. Satisfactory experiences have already been gained in cooperation in the field of the chemical industry and the construction of chemical plant, for example the joint development of processes and the manufacture of production plant for high-pressure polyethylene--known by the trade mark "Polymir." This plant produces valuable plastics from oil. Such cooperation aimed at refinement is also proceeding in the metallurgical industry. An outstanding example is the joint development and production of a 30-ton plasma smelting furnace which represents a top achievement in terms of international standards. Let me also point out the extensive measures for the joint reconstruction of factories in order to modernize them. Good experiences in this respect were gained in the fixtures industry. They are being extended to a multitude of projects for the modernization of enterprises of the consumer goods and food industry in the USSR, with the GDR supplying important equipment. Here also reciprocal benefit is the basis of relations, just as in all other areas of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. GDR technological and production experiences are immediately serviceable for the USSR--for the utilization of its resources in the interest of the improvement of supplies for the general public, in accordance with the CPSU food program.

All this is already the object of work comprehensively coordinated at the national level and broadly organized. It is getting to be more and more important for the even closer cooperation of the two countries' national economies.

Tasks arise therefrom also for the work of the ministries. In accordance with the orientation set by the SED CC and on the basis of coordinated work orientations of the two states, all industry ministries in the GDR maintain direct personal contacts with their Soviet partners. This means constant working contacts. They serve both the drafting of long-range proposals for the further close interlocking in the respective sectors and the operational implementation of the treaties agreed. ~~... of the ...~~ interrelationship is the fact that more than 190 treaties at government or ministerial level are in effect at this time between the GDR and the USSR.



These treaties are mainly directed to the joint development, production and use of the latest equipment such as computer equipment, robot equipment, automation equipment, highly productive technologies for plastics and synthetic fibers and modern production plant. Most of the agreements--114 of them--include such scientific-technical objectives. This means that collaboration and, consequently, specialization and cooperation are more and more concerned with the accomplishment of basic tasks in science and technology. We may already note that this is a type of cooperation proceeding at a high scientific-technical standard and even more than hitherto benefiting the efficiency of the two countries' national economies. Arising from this joint international effort in the early stage of science and technology is quite particularly that new productive potential that Marx described as characteristic for the cooperation of labor in general.

This broad cooperation in science and technology--geared to the greatest economic efficiency--is the strong foundation of tight interlocking. As many as 80 percent of all GDR scientific-technical assignments are processed in cooperation with the USSR. They involve key areas for the dynamism of common advances, above all in direction scientific-technical top performances and the greatest possible labor productivity. In 1981-1985 600 topics will be jointly dealt with in scientific-technical cooperation.

Here also the past 10 years have witnessed an exceptional speed-up which clearly demonstrates the transition to a new quality of cooperation by our two countries. In 1973 8 patents were issued for joint research and development results; in 1975 such patents already numbered 147, and by 1983 594.

Standards are a particularly obvious criterion for the extent of reciprocal interlocking, for the concrete coordination of the parameters of various products. The numbers of integrated state standards agreed between the GDR and USSR rose from 83 in 1973 to 4,000 in 1983.

Involved here is more than just science and technology. The salient point is the possibility on the basis of the powerful scientific, research and technological potential of the USSR to accomplish every scientific-technical task required to strengthen socialism. It is of the utmost importance for the GDR that its intimate ties with the USSR increasingly involve the development of new products and new technologies.

We may claim that cooperation between the GDR and the USSR proceeds in many fields at "the front line of scientific-technical progress." That also and primarily so applies to the field of equipment for the exploration of the earth from space with the help of satellite. By supplying appropriate camera equipment and other devices, the GDR is making a growing contribution consonant with its potential and situation.

However, this implies a tremendous challenge to our own performance. Our party therefore assigned the general directors of combines and the party organizers of the Central Committee the definite task of developing, producing and offering for delivery to the USSR such products as are appropriate to the criteria of the highest quality and reliability on the basis of top

scientific-technical standards. This is a command imposed by our responsibility for the further consolidation of the fraternal alliance, for the strengthening of the socialist community of states and, at the same time, responds to GDR interests.

#### Cooperation Directed to the Realization of the Economic Strategy

An important main trend of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR is the most efficient utilization of the available energy sources and raw materials. It will be even more important in future. We already have long experiences and satisfactory traditions. Let us recall USSR deliveries of turbines, generators and feed pumps for the construction of brown coal power plants in the GDR. At the present time every second kilowatt hour comes from power plant capacities installed since the Eighth SED Congress. Construction of these capacities was backed by the delivery of vital machine sets from the USSR. This has enabled us to use our domestic energy sources and raw materials with the greatest national useful effect.

It also includes the delivery of nuclear power plant equipment to the GDR by the USSR. This has meant that currently about 12 percent of GDR electric energy are produced in nuclear power plants. In future the construction of the nuclear power capacity will have an even greater role. That underlines the significance of the further deepening of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR as well as other countries in this field, and the GDR is eager to provide its contribution.

GDR-USSR cooperation thus helps our republic to better use its own energy and raw materials resources. At the same time the GDR is involved in making USSR raw materials sources available to the GDR. The term "pipeline section builder" has become familiar in our republic, because it reflects the GDR's active involvement in the construction of natural gas pipelines. At the present time more than 9,000 such builders are again at work in the USSR, helping to construct another natural gas pipeline connecting our republic and other CEMA countries with the Soviet Union. It is appropriate to the nature of our relations for such pipelines to have names like "friendship" or "Soyuz." They symbolize the close cooperation of the two countries for the accomplishment of common tasks directed to the further strengthening of socialism.

#### Fraternal Cooperation in the Daily Life of the Collective

The intimate and fraternal cooperation of the GDR and USSR is a matter for the working people, all the people of our republic. The SED contributes comprehensive political, ideological and organizational work. The realization of the tasks arising therefrom in the field of economics and science and technology are the object of state economic plans and mandatory on everybody. Their implementation is in the responsibility and supervision of the ministers to whom the general directors of combines are subordinated. In their capacity as suppliers or purchasers of products and by their joint research tasks and exchanges of experiences, these combines and their enterprises are linked with

partners of the USSR national economy not simply as business partners but by friendly relations. Some combines and their enterprises deliver 25 percent of their entire output to the USSR, some--the combines "Rail vehicles" and "Conversion Equipment", for example--turn out more than 50 percent of all their products for the USSR. Most of their research and production potential is geared to this close cooperation with the USSR.

In these instances relations are beginning to develop, that point in direction of actual partnership. Five GDR combines and five USSR associations have achieved a high standard of such direct relations on the basis of an experiment agreed for a term of 2 years. This involves in particular the conduct of the performance comparison with respect to the expenditure of raw materials, other materials, energy and manpower for analogous products manufactured by the enterprises of the two countries, also the drafting of joint measures for achieving greater materials and energy economies as well as the reciprocal delivery of components, rationalization aids, the joint utilization of test facilities, common reconstruction measures--in short everything that helps us advance faster on the path to intensification.

#### Resolute Implementation of the Resolutions Adopted by the Economic Conference

New tasks for the further advance of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the countries of socialism and, consequently, the GDR and the USSR, arise from the economic conference of the CEMA member countries at the highest level, held in Moscow in June 1984. As the conference documents show, new and far ranging prospects are revealed for this cooperation. All fraternal parties affirmed their resolution to elevate it to a new stage--building on the challenging demands to the current phase. The SED and the GDR actively contribute to the realization of these historic resolutions.

The SED CC Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers made the appropriate provisions. The greatest weight is assigned the measures resolved upon for the deepening of the coordination of economic policies. Coordination of the economic plans among the CEMA countries is the chief instrument for synchronizing economic policy and for the organization of sound economic and scientific-technical relations among the CEMA countries.

The necessary coordinations for the period 1986-1990 have already been concluded. The CPSU and the SED as well as the USSR and GDR governments are making an intensive effort to implement the further long-range cooperation in science, technology and production through 2000 in accordance with the program agreed. The economic cooperation of the two countries will extend to such key areas of scientific-technical progress as microelectronics, the chemical industry, nuclear energy, electronic computer equipment as well as the food and consumer goods industries, all sectors in which long-range and comprehensive cooperation is of exceptional importance for both countries. Just as the stable and smooth flowing development of the two countries' national economies on the basis of the socialist economic system has its long-range outlook, this also safeguards the future prospects of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries.

Applicable today and in future is Comrade Erich Honecker's dictum: "The peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have indeed become allies, comrades in arms and friends. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany have accomplished a tremendous political effort to that end. This fraternal alliance is a great revolutionary achievement and indestructible for all time."<sup>4</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [SED Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress. Reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1981, p 19.
2. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1965, p 6.
3. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 October 1984, p 9.
4. "SED Central Committee Report..." as before, p 20.

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HAGER STRESSES UNITY OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION, CULTURE

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[Article by K. Hager, member Politburo, Council of State, committee chairman of Public Education, People's Chamber: "The Unity of Science, Education and Culture"]

[Text] In the 35th year of its existence, the GDR has available a respectable potential of material resources, economic efficiency, scientific and technical performances, of education, skills and cultural achievements. Especially since the Eighth SED Congress, this potential, created by the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people, has been the result and basis of smooth flowing and dynamic economic growth and a comprehensive sociopolitical program focusing on housing construction. It secures for the GDR a place in the first rank of industrial countries and strengthens its international renown. The fraternal alliance and economic integration with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community raise its efficacy and the contribution the GDR provides for the strengthening of socialism and the preservation of peace.

However proud we may be of our achievements, we still need to think of the future also. 2000 is not far off. We are already working on the five-year plan through 1990 and on the precise definition of the tasks assigned for this period by the CEMA economic conference at the highest level. The efficient utilization of the material resources and the intellectual potential at our disposal is a basic prerequisite for the further organization of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

The steadily faster advance of science facilitates significant technological revolutions in many sectors of production to an extent unimaginable even a few years back. The wide ranging and fast application of highly effective technologies is the key for exploiting the economic and social potential of new scientific knowledge for material production. The salient question is that of our ability in far shorter delays to turn out more new products and technologies at top international standards and make them production effective all across our economy. This includes the careful handling of natural resources and environmental protection as much as the manufacture of refined



products with high function value and increasingly oriented to the general and specific needs of users.

The further economic development of our country must feature a flexible response to social needs and foreign trade requirements, the systematic renewal of products, equipment and processes. By this process of renewal, above all, science proves itself a direct productive force and becomes the unending source of intensively expanded reproduction.

To cope with the accelerating production and reproduction processes, our working people need to be highly educated and skilled. No progress is imaginable in socialism without the highly qualified worker, scientist, technician, engineer and manager, without a high standard of consciousness and education, developed intellectual and cultural interests of all people at work. The intellectual potential, the involvement of all aspects of our society's intellectual culture is already a basic condition of all further material and cultural progress of the socialist society.

The development of our sciences as well as of education and culture is largely decided by our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states--tried and tested in the course of many years. Close working relations have evolved between ministries, combines and enterprises as well as scientific, educational and cultural institutions and organizations. They must be further elaborated and organized even more efficiently so as to increase the contribution to be made by science, education and culture to the consolidation of the socialist community and to even more clearly demonstrate the benefits of the socialist social order.

Progress in the theoretical and practical mastery of reality is possible only if each generation knows more than its predecessor about the objective laws of nature, society and thought, if it is able to absorb this knowledge as an experience already gained and generalized as the perception of these laws. Science operating in the unity of the perception of laws and their practical application creates not only the conditions for coping with the tasks immediately confronting us but also the prerequisites for the steady and, in particular, qualitative growth of the standard of education. On the other hand it depends on great performances of the educational system. The educational system passes on scientific knowledge and cultural values; it thus contributes to the improvement of the standard of culture. Culture deepens our perception of reality, our appreciation of the meaning of life, the values that matter in life, and thereby creates impulses for creative thought and action--important specially for scientific work.

The unifying strand is the striving for knowledge and change, expressed in scientific research, in the need for education, in curiosity and imagination aroused in particular by art and literature. To unlock these potentials we require a dialectic method of proceeding with the consideration, study and appraisal of things and phenomena. And here Carl Schorlemmer may serve us as an example and a model.

## Science

In the obituary of 1 July 1892, Friedrich Engels wrote the following about Carl Schorlemmer, one of the founders of organic chemistry, memorialized in the name of the Leuna-Merseburg Technical School: "He was just about the only prominent scientist of his age, who did not disdain to learn from Hegel whom he esteemed highly, although the philosopher was much despised at the time. And Schorlemmer was right. Anyone wishing to achieve anything in the field of theoretical and summarizing natural sciences, is bound unlike most people to consider natural phenomena not as immutable but as changing and flowing dimensions. And this we still learn most easily from Hegel."<sup>1</sup>

The following example will demonstrate how important it is in a dialectic manner to consider natural phenomena and our knowledge of natural laws as subject to change and draw the appropriate conclusions: In his autobiography, Max Planck related how his Munich teacher, the physicist von Jolly, advised him not to study theoretical physics. Jolly said: "Theoretical physics is quite a nice topic, though at present there are no professorships. But you are most unlikely to achieve anything basically new, because the structure of theoretical physics was pretty much completed with the discovery of the principle of the conservation of energy. Maybe it will be possible in one or the other corner to trace a speck of dust, but you will not find anything really new."<sup>2</sup>

Max Planck was not put off by this skepticism. His research on the laws of radiation, opening the gate to the quantum theory, proved that science was indeed able to find something radically new. At the same time he was quite aware that this theory could not be the final conclusion of the studies of natural laws either, because--his autobiography says--"we will never arrive at a final, a definite conclusion. Scholarly work will never cease, and it would be dreadful if it did cease...The scholar's satisfaction is not found in the possession of truth but in the struggle for it."<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, science does not tolerate stagnation, whether it is natural science, technical or social science. Whatever methods of study it uses, whether observation, experiment or generalization and abstraction, it is always concerned to advance from appearance to essence, to discover new laws in nature and society. Every new perception also clearly indicates where ignorance still persists, every problem resolved raises new and unsolved problems. This is evidently a dialectic contradiction inherent in the process of scientific perception. It always needs to be taken into account by those who work in the field of science, if they wish to be creative.

In its relationship to science, the SED is guided by the attitude adopted by Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism. Friedrich Engels commented this attitude as follows: "For Marx, science was a historically moving and revolutionary force. While he rejoiced in a new discovery by some theoretical science or other, the practical applications of which might not yet have been foreseeable, he was overjoyed when meeting with a discovery which immediately revolutionized industry and the development of history altogether."<sup>4</sup>

For Marx, the application and utilization of scientific knowledge signified "the extent to which social productive forces are produced, not only in the form of knowledge but as direct organs of social practice, the real life process."<sup>5</sup>

Considered from this aspect, our century has wrought basic changes. Max Planck's research results were an element of the scientific revolution in the early part of this century, also characterized by the discovery of radio activity, X-rays, Einstein's relativity theory and other advances of science. However, this revolution did not generally proceed in direct and organic combination and cooperation with technology. Though Edison was aware of Faraday's papers on electricity, the invention of the electric light bulb and the creation of the system of electricity production and distribution--one of the outstanding innovations with enormous social effects--proceeded without the inventor's direct cooperation with scientific institutions.

Still, thanks to the significant discoveries or basic inventions and the steadily closer cooperation of scientific institutions with industry, the scientific revolution prepared the way for the emergence of completely new products and technical developments: The splitting of uranium and nuclear technology since 1938, electronic computer technology since 1945, microelectronics and the transistor effect since 1948, laser technology and the laser effect since 1954, genetic engineering since 1970--to mention only the most important ones.

The organic merger of science and technology has been proceeding since the 1950's, a scientific-technical revolution leading to a new and higher quality in the development of the productive forces and with far reaching social and intellectual effects.

Microelectronics were vital for mastering this process. They began their victorious advance by replacing electron tubes with the transistor. In them the merger of science and technology has already achieved a high degree of perfection.

Microelectronics became the engine of scientific-technical progress, thanks to their link with data processing, process technology and communication technology. This opened a steadily widening field of application. The scale of electronic computer equipment for data and text processing now ranges from giant computers to home computers and pocket calculators. A bewildering abundance of peripheral devices and software programs completes the picture. This development is by no means finished. Recently the boss of the American Diebold Corporation remarked that information technology is now at about the stage of the motor car in the 1920's.<sup>6</sup> The importance of microcomputers for use in business and, to a certain extent, as home computers for personal use, is steadily increasing. It is said that, by the mid-1990's, computers will be on the market, able to translate the spoken language into writing.

The combination of microelectronics, information processing and automation has enabled us to convert traditional control systems to the more efficient microelectronics. Consequently the work functions to be transferred from man to machine may be largely carried out automatically by the independent compilation, storage and transfer of data with the aid of microelectronic system solutions. The use of computer controlled industrial robots, allowing us to abandon manual labor in rather unskilled and monotonous occupations especially in conditions of hardship and hazard for humans, the generally greater extent of automation in manufacturing and processing--including the

respective ancillary processes--, flexible and integrated manufacture, computer aided design and technological production preparation and computer aided manufacture (the so-called CAD/CAM systems) and computer aided instruction are a few examples of the trend of development, which will feature more research results on artificial intelligence.

In their article "Microelectronics, Evolution of a New Type of Technology and Comprehensive Intensification," published in WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, Huebner, Marschall and Steinitz conclude that a new type of technology is emerging by dint of the combination of microelectronics, data processing and automation. They write: "The new type of technology is based on the evolution and extensive application of a system of automated equipment, reflected especially in a new quality, greater efficiency and far greater scope for automation as well as in a higher stage of cooperation by all elements of the productive forces, in other words a higher technological standard of production. The new information technology, based on microelectronics, is the starting point and core of the new type of technology. It enables technology to break through to fields hitherto reserved to man, equipment to become compatible, programmable and therefore amenable to flexible use, an machines to be combined into complex and integrated systems within which energy, materials and information flows fuse into integrated processes."

In our conditions, the evolution of this new type of technology must be achieved mainly with the help of rationalization aid construction by the complex rationalization and modernization of entire manufacturing sections. The best effect is accomplished by a combination of the modernization of plant, the use of complementary new equipment, branch specific rationalization aids, industrial robots and process controls for the comprehensive modernization of entire production sections.

At the Seventh SED CC Plenum, Erich Honecker said: "All facts indicate that the rapid development of the productive forces will continue. Our success in keeping pace with it will ultimately decide the economic ranking of our country and our people's standard of living. Such major processes as microelectronics, modern refinement chemistry or biotechnology have a key role and will increasingly penetrate our economy also." <sup>8</sup>

Of course the current stage of the scientific-technical revolution is largely characterized by the type of technology based on the use of microelectronics. Still, it would be taking too narrow a view to consider the scientific-technical revolution from this aspect alone. Microelectronics themselves require important prior performances with respect to the mastery of complicated chemical and physical processes; they require materials to be custom made, call for highly developed scientific device construction, to mention only a few examples. On the other hand, the use of microelectronics affects our ability to handle these processes and influences--in some instances even postulates--scientific-technical progress in many other fields, not least with respect to process automation in chemical processing.

In addition to the speeded-up development and use of microelectronics, robot



technology and information and communication technology, the following main trends are vital for scientific-technical progress in the GDR, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries:

- The development of the energy base of our national economy, especially the more efficient utilization of brown coal and the expansion of nuclear energy;
- The greater refinement of domestic raw materials and other materials, because this contributes to great economic effects, the improvement of the function value of products, the rise in the production of commodities suitable for export at good foreign exchange profits and high-quality consumer goods. This applies specially to chemical research and the chemical industry;
- The creation of new (particularly ceramic) materials. Such materials are specially important for the GDR because the basic materials needed for their manufacture can generally be found here, and their use allows us to substantially extend the life and improve the reliability of much used products;
- The development of biotechnology and the use of its processes for agriculture and the food industry, medicine, the health care system and other sectors as well as
- Ecological research, in particular from the aspect of the relationship of man to the environment.

These are some main trends of research and development--all closely connected with one another. The special nature of the scientific-technical revolution is in fact reflected in the fact that it operates not in isolation but across the entire width of the national economy (albeit at varying rates of speed in the various industries, combines and enterprises) and in all other social sectors.

The organic coalescence of the scientific and the technical revolution obviously resulted in a steadily deepening interrelation of science and production. By comparison with the industrial revolution of the late 18th and early centuries or the first use of electricity, the new feature now is represented by the propelling impulses for the economy being largely supplied by science, the purposeful application and utilization of its results. At the same time this gives rise to increasingly great challenges to science from the national economy and society.

It is fair to say that we have a new quality in the relations of science and production. We can no longer imagine them in isolation because they affect one another and, by their reciprocal challenges, urge one another to new tasks and solutions. The decisive feature consists not just in more services by science to production but in their long-range cooperation, the direct involvement of science in the preparation and definition of the long-term development trends of the national economy, its combines and enterprises.



Since the Tenth SED Congress enacted the economic strategy for the 1980's, the establishment and consolidation of the combines, their challenging obligations with respect to the intensification of production and the strengthening of their scientific-technical potential have resulted in a close and multifaceted link with the Academy of Sciences and the universities and colleges. This has given rise to the opportunity for systematically and successfully to make effective joint basic research and branch specific research as the bases for economic progress. The national economy expects this cooperation to provide impulses designed to open new paths for production with importance on the national level.

#### Science turns into a revolutionary force

- If it does not merely offer good and useful solutions but presents results of international rank, which provide a significant gain in knowledge;
- If it leads to top performances with respect to products and technological processes and, consequently, greater efficiency;
- If its interdisciplinary nature is more and more clearly defined, from basic research via applied research to technological utilization;
- If it endeavors to gain the maximum time and both the management and supervision of scientific work is totally oriented to that end.

Basically it is a matter for organizing the path of research itself and the path from the research result to its application to be as short and smooth as possible. Whatever the benefit of a research performance, it is surely correct to note that this benefit increases with the speed of the performance and its transfer. At the present time, when the aggressive circles of imperialism are doing everything to damage us politically and economically, the speed-up of the rate of progress in research, development and production--above all the quicker transfer of results to production--represents an important aspect of the dispute between socialism and imperialism.

Within the framework of our scientific development, basic research always maintains pride of place. The importance of basic research in fact continues to increase. It is a prime concern of our party's policy to all-round encourage the study of new laws and operating principles and thereby do justice to the social requirements on science. Without basic research it is impossible to get a modern economic structure--consonant with the situation of the GDR--, no efficacy of a resource conserving and intensively expanded reproduction, no organization of socialist living conditions.

This also includes the need for it at all times to bear in mind a forward looking strategic conception. The likely social, scientific and economic developments must be explored, the trends of research ascertained if our science is to work for the future of the GDR and maintain itself in future also. This requires the systematic drafting of variants and the variant

comparison ahead of decisions. Of course basic research, too, must take into account the real conditions and potentials of the GDR and orient itself to the strategic key points of the national economic development and social progress in the further organization of the developed socialist society.

Practice teaches us that great research projects--such as the reorganization of manufacturing and processing--require a complex approach and cannot be accomplished without interdisciplinary cooperation of natural scientists, technical scientists, mathematicians and sociologists. This is necessary first of all because no research issues are concerned only with natural science, technical and technological solutions. All have many and various social effects. They affect working conditions, education and skills, health, the environment, the international status of the GDR, and so on and so forth. All research projects must constantly consider and assess these social consequences. This very consideration caused me to say at the SED CC social science conference: "Sociologists and natural scientists unite!"

Cooperation among the various scientific disciplines and between science and practice does more than benefit the accomplishment of assignments; it also represents for all those involved a process of learning to which everyone may contribute his knowledge and experience. It is imperative that no idea should be lost, and that everybody should display his abilities.

Many scientists have commented the conditions and features of creative scientific work. Prof Dr Peter Adolf Thiessen, member of the Academy of Sciences, for example, said: "It is imperative for virgin territory to be developed. Every single problem must be pursued conscientiously and carefully, without losing sight of future prospects...I am an unconditional adherent of the pursuit of innovation--by conviction and inclination. Decisive here are the major steps toward the discernible unknown. We may sometimes take alarm when faced with the new, but there are no specters obstructing the path to higher levels." As for the atmosphere that should prevail in research institutions and sections, Professor Thiessen said: "The decisive resources are represented by discipline, the necessity to achieve one's personal best and unswerving partisanship for the nature and objectives of the socialist social order in the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin."<sup>9</sup>

Scientific institutions should be dominated by a lively atmosphere, conducive to experiment and encouraging individuals to work creatively, persistently pursue a scientific concept and--analogous to sports--steadily raise the bar. After all, it is a fact that new and useful ideas emerge in an atmosphere which inspires creativity. This atmosphere will be all the more fertile if suggestions and performances are rewarded, whether materially or morally.

#### Education

Our educational system can help a great deal toward developing this creativity. We have an integrated socialist educational system, centered around the 10-grade general educational polytechnical secondary school. We have a university system that, in my opinion, meets the requirements of scientific education and practice. We have vocational education and technical

training that may boast of very favorable results. Sixty-three percent of all working citizens of the GDR are skilled workers or foremen, 20 percent university or technical school graduates.

Especially since 1971 we have been able to record a general improvement in the standard of skills of those employed in the socialist national economy. The numbers of unskilled and semiskilled workers has sharply declined. At the same time the numbers of foremen and skilled workers rose by more than 50 percent. Every fifth person employed in the GDR is a college or technical school graduate. At end 1983, more than 1,500,000 college and technical school cadres worked in the national economy, with more than a third of them being college graduates. This is certainly remarkable, not only in terms of the capacity of our educational system but also with respect to its effect on economic growth.

Of course the schools must look after general education, while vocational training and the university and technical school system provide basic and special knowledge. The borders are quite fluid, because it is imperative in the institutions of higher education also to keep looking from the singular to the whole.

At the same time it is very important for instruction and studies to help shape the qualities of pupils and students, which are of importance for their future work and respond to the rapid socioeconomic and scientific developments of our age.

I would cite in first place pleasure in knowledge, the urge to learn, that quality which is not content with the present achievement but yearns to advance ever farther in the profundities of the sciences and the laws of social development. This also includes appreciation of imagination which often points the way to accomplish a task or reveals future possibilities, in particular for science and technology.

In second place (but no less important), I would cite education in hard work, thoroughness and conscientiousness. No problem can ever be resolved without these qualities. They are closely linked to the feeling of responsibility toward the community, the socialist society, the socialist fatherland. To wish to serve the GDR, the socialist state on German soil, with all the abilities and skills the individual may possess, to expand one's own life and the life of the community--that is a worthwhile and meaningful obligation, and education and training should assign it the greatest possible importance.

The changes in science and technology obviously affect the educational system. New requirements arise, calling for the perfection of general knowledge, basic and special occupational training as well as scientific training generally. We are currently in the process of the textual reorganization of our educational system.

Microelectronics and data processing provide an opportunity for using pocket calculators for instruction and appropriately equip students with knowledge of computers. This requires methodical and didactic guidance.

Since the respective prerequisites have been created in industry, we have begun to introduce pocket calculators in the general educational school, based on a pedagogic concept. Student study groups deal with electronics, student rationalization and design offices use computers and data processing to seek solutions for the rationalization and automation of enterprise processes. Pocket calculators and personal computers will gradually be introduced as calculating and experimental instruments in popular education and at the more advanced stages of education. Teaching can thereby be made more efficient.

Intensive research has been initiated for the more accurate ascertainment of the consequences arising for general education from the development of information technology. It will be necessary to establish the basic theories and skills, the essential modes of thought and work to be mastered by the students. In the drafting and introduction of new curricula for physics and polytechnical instruction in general education, we are also keeping in mind new fields of knowledge and modes of approach arising from the development of electrical engineering, microelectronics and automation technology.

Still, these types of information processing do not replace, they supplement other methods of instruction and teaching materials. In my opinion, the entry of the computer in teaching and studies should arouse neither exaggerated expectations nor result in the abandonment of well tested approaches to training and education.

Decisive for the use of computers in instruction--and that includes colleges, technical schools and vocational training--is the question of the extent to which the student acquires the ability by the utilization of modern tools to better master the material as well as his own intellectual processes. We do not wish to produce button pushers, mere appendages to equipment; we aim to train and educate self-confident personalities, able to think in generalizing, total and dialectic terms. Of course many issues of the aid to intellectual processes by the use of information technology still need much research. At this time we are barely equipped to imagine the tremendous opportunities for the expansion of the human faculty for appreciating and mastering reality in all its complexity.

## Culture

The development of microelectronics also opened entirely new avenues for the enjoyment of art and artistic endeavors. Entertainment electronics embrace a wide range of products--from color television, hi-fi apparatus to video recorders with all their appurtenances. Computer graphics, computer composition, book production with the aid of EDP and other developments seem to confirm the opinion of the Austrian journalist Robert Jungk of the "unstoppable rise of a computer culture" and his fear that imagination and individual will may no longer really persist, "but in fact"--Jungk writes--"will be stunted by the initiative of a (capitalist--Kurt Hager) industry which, though at this time only in third place after the automobile and oil



industry, will--according to all forecasts--represent in the 1990's the most powerful, influential and dominating complex of the Western World." <sup>10</sup>

It is perfectly justified to fear that entertainment electronics will increasingly be the tool of capitalist corporations and governments for the manipulation of the masses. This is demonstrated especially by the development on the video cassette market. However, even with more extensive use of entertainment electronics, culture will never become "computer culture," because the computer and the products of audio and video technology also are the works of man. They can grow and function only when man produces them, writes their programs and operates them properly. Man's creative imagination and power will not allow itself to be forced into the straightjacket of a computer art. In future also poets will let their imagination range free, painters paint their pictures, orchestras play symphonies by old and new masters, museums display the art of the past and the present. In the periodical SPECTRUM, Gerhard Reinisch, director of the Institute for Polymer Chemistry at the Academy of Sciences, very appositely wrote the following: "Scientific work and artistic creation cannot be separated from mastery of detail, the utmost precision in the handling of facts. Our oldest works of art and our latest scientific results are witnesses to that fact. Works of art and scientific progress, however, equally need inspiration, imagination and the gift of composition." <sup>11</sup>

In future also, and without renouncing the resources of electronics, our art and culture will continue to help the evolution of just these qualities and values, thereby contributing to the handling of the great tasks of our age.

Bourgeois theoreticians and journalists often misconstrue a conflict between a technical world and a non-technical world. The nuclear threat, pollution, possible intervention in the gene pool, microchips as "job killers" in factory and office, the misuse of the results of data processing are used as evidence that science and technology represent a threat. Champions of information technology even prophesy that, thanks to its artificial intelligence, the computer will eventually relegate man to the second rank, replace human thought.

Of course we cannot deny the results of scientific and technical development, because all sectors of society are by now permeated with them, and because man's urge to know and his striving to translate perceptions into practical techniques, technologies and processes cannot be stopped. Neither education nor culture nor intellectual life as a whole can be divorced from science and technology: they permeate one another and are by no means rigidly confronting one another as the "non-technical world" and the "technical world."

The threats mentioned cannot be attributed to science and technology. They clearly arise from socio-economic conditions. The misuse for anti-human purposes of scientific knowledge and technical achievements is due mainly to the efforts of capitalist corporations and states to earn maximum profits. The endeavor of the aggressive circles of imperialism to plunge the international military-strategic balance.



For socialism, scientific perceptions and the achievements of technology represent a source of social progress. Science must serve mankind, contribute to the well-being of the people. That is why we are not worried about new scientific knowledge, though we are aware of the potential threat arising from its abuse. We know very well that it is necessary properly and farsightedly to use this knowledge if we genuinely wish to ease labor, rationally arrange the exchange between man and nature, steadily improve the people's living conditions. We direct our efforts to the full development of scientific and technical progress, the steady improvement of the standard of education, skills and culture, so that we may accomplish the challenging objectives we have set ourselves by the organization of the developed socialist society.

In socialist conditions we need not fear the degradation of man. After all, man has learned to pilot aircraft without dropping to the level of the bird. He will also use information technology and other new techniques so as to prove himself the subject and the creator of history.

Science, education and culture can flourish only in times of peace. Consequently, like their colleagues in other countries, scientists, educators and artists in the GDR have expressed their profound concern about the peace threatening policy of the Reagan Administration and NATO; they also warned of the consequences of a nuclear war, which could not be undone. The GDR Committee for Scientific Issues of the Preservation of Peace and Disarmament at the Academy of Sciences, directed by Prof Dr Hermann Klare, pointed out that the explosive effect of a modern nuclear warhead is about 1,000-10,000 times greater than of the bombs used in 1945 for the U.S. bomb drop on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Soviet and U.S. scientists illustrated the complete senselessness of a nuclear war by explaining that the climate on earth would change so much as a consequence, as to be inhabitable for all forms of life. The Committee affirmed its hope that the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would lend courage to all those championing peace and disarmament, make them strong enough to tell their fellow men how they might and must repel a potential and unimaginably awful disaster. May this memory make it plain to all of us--said the Committee--that the parting of the ways is to be found where the first strike is solemnly forewarned or where it is seriously discussed as part of military planning. The so-called "balance of terror" will not in the long run be able to protect the world from unspeakable misery; that can be done only by disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

The members of the GDR intelligentsia are able to act in full consciousness of the fact that the policy of their socialist states fully agrees with their efforts for peace. This was expressed by the participants in the demonstration of scientists and artists in honor of the 35th anniversary of the GDR's establishment. They affirmed, among others: "Our historic approach and aim will always continue an approach of peace, social progress and humanism. Inspired by these solid ideas and ideals, we have collaborated in change and renewal, in the development and elevation of intellectual life, the progress of further strengthening and perfecting our German Democratic Republic--the work of millions of people--for the benefit of all of us. That is our goal."

important contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace." <sup>12</sup>

The unity of science, education and culture thus manifests itself also in the contribution to the preservation of peace.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels, "Carl Schorlemmer," Collected Works, Vol 22, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1963, p 314.
2. Marx Planck, "Autodescription (1942), in "AUS DER ARBEIT VON PLENUM UND KLASSEN DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN DER DDR, No 4, 1983, p 6.
3. Ibid, p 10.
4. Friedrich Engels, "Karl Marx' Funeral," Collected Works, Vol 19, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1982, p 336.
5. Karl Marx, "Outlines of the Critique of Political Economics," Collected Works, Vol 42, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1983, p 602.
6. SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 3 August 1984, p 27.
7. Werner Huebner/Wolfgang Marschall/Klaus Steinitz, "Microelectronics. Evolution of a New Type of Technology and Comprehensive Intensification," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 7, 1984, p 984.
8. Erich Honecker, "In Kampferfuellter Zeit Setzen wir den Bewaehrten Kurs des X. Parteitages fuer Frieden und Sozialismus Erfolgreicht Fort. 7. Tagung des ZK der SED" [At a Time of Struggle We Are Successfully Pursuing the Tried and Tested Course of the Tenth SED Congress for Peace and Socialism. Seventh SED CC Plenum], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1983, p 29.
9. Peter Adolf Thiessen, "Living, Experiencing, Perceiving," SPECTRUM, No 1, 1984, p 22.
10. BILD DER WISSENSCHAFT. Stuttgart, No 9, 1984, p 37.
11. Gerhard Reinisch, "Lively Creative Power Remains Irreplaceable," SPECTRUM, B1 6, 1984, p 15.
12. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 September 1984, p 3.

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PARTY OFFICIAL REVIEWS BOOK OF HONECKER SPEECHES, ESSAYS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 12 Oct 84)  
pp 992-997

[Article by O. Reinhold, member SED CC, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED CC, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the EINHEIT Editors' Collegium: "Workers Power for the Benefit of the People"]

[Text] This is the title of a collection of speeches and essays by Erich Honecker, published by Dietz Verlag on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR and equally important for theory and practice. These speeches and essays date from 1971 to 1984--a highly significant period of time for our party and our country. It is the phase initiated by the Eighth SED Congress during which we resolutely set course for the organization of the developed socialist society, and which has turned out to be our most successful one yet, in terms of both domestic and foreign policy.

Rule of the Working Class--The Basic Precondition of Our Successful Advance

Though not even 15 years have elapsed since the Eighth SED Congress, the life of the people has been much improved for everybody to see. The policy of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy, in particular, has gradually made for the incorporation in positive results of the benefits of socialism, its social and humanist nature, in short everything that represents the spirit of socialism. On the international stage, the GDR has been much appreciated. Even in difficult conditions it has turned out to be a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe.

Everybody knows that this policy and its results are indivisibly tied to Erich Honecker's efforts. At the head of the party and government, he consistently and persistently provided the crucial contribution to the drafting and practical implementation of this policy benefiting the people. His speeches and essays serve to document this assertion. They demonstrate how the SED has creatively helped in the drafting of the conception of the developed socialist society and subsequently arrived at its strategy and tactics appropriate to the changing internal and international situation.

When we read his essays from this period of time, it is evident that the basic conception of party policy in the mid-1980's is identical with that developed and resolved upon at the Eighth SED Congress. As in 1971, the unity of economic and social policy is at the core of our economic and social strategy. Despite a new and difficult situation at the international level and new and greater challenges within the GDR, not a single sociopolitical project has been cut let alone abandoned. On the contrary: The SED's sociopolitical program has been steadily expanded--vide its centerpiece, the housing construction program.

This fact must be assigned even greater value when we compare it with the realities prevailing in the capitalist world. Not much is left of bourgeois sociopolitical doctrines and conceptions relating to the so-called welfare state. They have long slid into bankruptcy in the maelstrom of the capitalist crisis. At virtually no time since World War II have such extensive cuts been made in social services, such vicious attacks launched against hard fought for social achievements and democratic rights as at present.

All the more evident by comparison is the continuity of SED policy, its resolute orientation to the interests of the working class, the well-being of the people. And this while the conditions for the realization of this policy have changed from the mid-1970's on and most noticeably in the early 1980's. The SED has always searched for means and ways and drafted appropriate solutions for purposefully continuing on its course (tried and tested in practice and wholeheartedly backed by the working people) despite the changed situation. The speeches and essays by Comrade Erich Honecker breathe this creative spirit. The ability quickly and flexibly to respond, in good time to draw the necessary conclusions and mobilize the masses for their practical implementation--that is an essential feature of our party's work, the expression of its maturity.

When we pursue the question of the bases of our successful advance for more than 30 years, what makes us sure that the challenging objectives set by our party for the benefit of the working people will be achieved in the 1980's also, the speeches and essays provide important clues. The guarantor for all this is the political power of the working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, which was established on German soil for the first time thanks to the Soviet Army's victory over fascism. Without holding power securely in its hands, the working class and its allies would have been unable to nationalize the decisive means of production, create the bases of socialism and successfully tackle the organization of the developed socialist society. It needs this secure power precisely in order to accomplish the main task for the benefit of the entire people, to enable us to provide our contribution to the reinforcement of the positions of socialism and, thereby, the preservation of peace. Power is first and foremost, it is the most significant achievement of our almost 40 years of revolutionary approach. In the report to the Eighth SED Congress the well-known statement occurs: "For more than 20 years the working class has held power in the German Democratic Republic. It created our state, it united the entire working people around itself. It lent the new society its human features and combative qualities. The rule of the working class--that is the point on which ultimately concentrate all the esteem of our

friends and all the hostility of our opponents the world over. Just because of that we will guard the power of the working class and its leading status like the apple of our eye and see to its steady perfection in the further organization of the socialist society." (p 24)

#### The Growing Role of the Socialist State Power

At no time has the SED left the slightest doubt that the socialist state, embodying the political power of the working class allied with the cooperative farmers and other working people, represents a basic condition for the construction of the socialist society. The socialist state power, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, its authority and ability to operate represents the basis and prerequisite for our successful advance. That continues to be the basic premise of the socialist revolution. We always have been and are still intent to act in accordance with this perception, to reliably secure the power of workers and farmers. Nobody has been or will be permitted to attack the socialist state.

For the socialist state as the chief tool of the working people led by the working class at all times to fulfill its obligations, our party has always devoted the greatest attention to its development and prepared the way for the importance of our workers and farmers power to further increase in the course of the further organization of the developed socialist society. Comrade Erich Honecker listed the objective reasons for our efforts:

1. The increased dimensions, qualitative changes in the national economy and its steadily closer interlocking with all other sectors of social life make greater and greater demands on state management.
2. International cooperation, socialist economic integration with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community is steadily expanding.
3. Relations with other states and international organizations are being extended.
4. The growing consciousness of the working people, their skills and activism require a higher standard of state management in order to encourage the initiatives of all working people and demonstrate to all citizens that their labors bear fruit, that they benefit the community as well as themselves
5. In view of the aggressive attitude of imperialism, demands on the reliable defense of the achievements of the socialist society are rising. (see pp 28/29)

It is almost 14 years since the growing role of the socialist state was justified in these words. It remains true essentially even now, in the mid-1980's. To secure the socialist state power and systematically expand it, create all those conditions that enable our state to cope with the new and greater tasks in the interest and for the benefit of the people--that is the



decisive feature of SED policy as comrade Honecker repeatedly and from ever new aspects explains in his speeches and essays.

In a highly dynamic world, the strength of the socialist state power obviously depends very largely on its ability to provide timely answers to new questions, constantly deal with new requirements and deepen its intimate ties with all working people. All speeches and essays therefore feature an appropriate response to the need to perfect the work of the party and the socialist state so that the power of the working class may always be inviolable, and we have a guarantee that the more challenging tasks will at all times be accomplished with even greater efficiency.

#### Leadership by the Party--Decisive Condition of Workers Power

Leadership by its revolutionary party, the supreme organization of the working class, is of fundamental importance for the stability and strength of working class political power. It is therefore an irrevocable principle of Marxist-Leninist action at all times to guarantee the leading role of the party, with energy, firmness, resolution and devotion to advance at the head of the millions of constructors of the new society. The drafting of a strategy and tactics expressing the interests of the working class and all working people and pointing the ways to realize them, is a key issue. The ultimately decisive factor for the justice of this strategy and tactics and their practical implementation is the revolutionary unity and integration of the party, the immutable loyalty of communists to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian and socialist internationalism. Just because our party has always been guided by this principle, because this shapes the thought and actions of its members, it has always been able to produce and steadily expand solid and indissoluble ties to the people at every stage of socialist construction and in all situations.

From this aspect, the policy of the main task, consistently pursued by the SED, is more than the result of applied workers power; it is also one of its crucial bases. Perceptible for everyone it embodies the coincidence of the policy of party and socialist state with the interests of all working people.

Comrade Erich Honecker's speeches and essays provide us with something like a summing up and clearly demonstrate how, confronted with new and more challenging tasks related to our internal development and at a time of international change, the party always weighs all factors and variants and their interrelations at all convergences of social development, in order to trace the ways and means for the continued and resolute pursuit of the policy for the benefit of the people, enacted at the Eighth SED Congress and rooted in the party program. That was the case in the mid-1970's, when prices of raw materials and fuels exploded at international level. Even more radical have been the changes, discernible already at the end of the 1970's, and due to the policy of confrontation and arms modernization, initiated by the United States and its NATO allies, leading to the greatest threat to peace since the end of World War II, while the most severe capitalist crisis of the past 50 years aggravated the situation with regard to the world economy.

At this crucial point of our development the question arose whether it would be possible to meet the new international economic, political and military requirements and, at the same time, continue the policy of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy. As Erich Honecker's speeches and essays impressively document, in its definitely positive response to this question our party was guided by the fact that it is not only the tasks that grow, so do our strength, potentials and possibilities for handling them. The better we manage to persist in using the advantages of socialism, the spirit of socialism and its social nature for the benefit of the working people, the greater will be our strength.

Precisely in this connection, Comrade Erich Honecker stresses that the working class does not seize power for power's sake but with the aim of making prevail the interests of the working class and all other working people. The stability of the socialist state and the socialist society largely depends on the accomplishment of just this task.

"The secret of this stability...consists above all in the fact that our party is indissolubly tied to the workers and other working people. It is itself part and parcel of the class and the people, lives, works and struggles together with them. Every citizen is well able to perceive that the policies of our party and our state serve the people, their living in peace and prosperity, in safety and security. Confidence in the masses, a confidence to which they respond by their deeds--that is the source of our stability."  
(194)

Because the citizens of our country appreciate that the party and the socialist state resolutely and unswervingly serve the welfare and happiness of the people, they are committed by their hard work and wealth of ideas to contribute to the further organization of the developed socialist society. "The more precisely our politics interpret the interests of the working people and the more effectively it serves them, the better people understand them, the more powerful is the mass initiative." (p 59) Rooted in this interrelation is the power and strength of the socialist state, its superiority in the worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism. The speeches and essays demonstrate that all vital issues are included in this representation of working class interests--from the struggle for a secure peace, an efficient economic and social strategy down to roof repairs or coffee breaks for shift workers.

In Fraternal Alliance with the Soviet Union, Firmly Rooted in the Socialist Community

In the speeches and essays to hand, the connection between the stability and efficacy of political power in the GDR on the one hand and international developments, the struggle for the preservation and security of peace on the other, in short the dialectic of internal and external policy, assumes outstanding importance. The first and primary objective of SED foreign policy efforts consists in the steady strengthening and further development of the firm and fraternal affection between the GDR and the Soviet Union as well as

the socialist community of states. That continues to be the decisive and indispensable foundation of the political power of workers and farmers in the GDR. Comrade Erich Honecker repeatedly points out that the GDR evolved and grew strong as part of the socialist community, and that its development flourishes in this environment. In the course of events, our relations are becoming steadily more varied and intimate. The security of the GDR as a fundamental element of political power is reliably guaranteed by membership in the Warsaw Pact and particularly the alliance with the Soviet Union--in military terms also the strongest force for peace. Situated at the border of the two social systems and military alliances, the socialist military coalition is of unestimable and irreplaceable value for the GDR. "We consider the present and future steps toward the construction of socialism, the all-round reinforcement of the workers and farmers power, the deepening of the alliance with the Soviet Union and the even more solid anchorage of our state in the community of socialist countries as an element and, at the same time, a commandment of the revolutionary world process." (p 53)

Comrade Erich Honecker deals in details with the dialectic relationship between political power, political stability and GDR peace policy. "We are building the socialist society in conditions open to all the world," he affirmed in 1979. "Nor will this change in future. The German Democratic Republic is situated at the junction of the two great social systems, the alliances of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, amidst the field of tension where the decision on war or peace will be made. That is why we feel greatly responsible for the strengthening of socialism and the steady improvement of our republic's defense preparedness. This also serves the consolidation of the unity and integration of our socialist community of states and the security of peace. It demonstrates the importance of the further development of socialist democracy and the circumspection and energy we need to employ so that all strata of our people, without regard for ideology and religion, may contribute to the further flourishing of their fatherland." (pp 234/235)

#### Resolute Action for Peace

Comrade Erich Honecker constantly points out that the struggle for peace and detente has become the preeminent issue in the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism. Just because socialism is the most important force for peace, the society that needs peace and makes the decisive contribution for its preservation and permanent guarantee--just because of that the all-round strengthening of socialism, its military defense, the preservation of the military strategic balance between Warsaw Pact and NATO is a prime condition, the efforts to keep its level as low as possible the objective of active socialist peace policy. At the same time we take note that--in addition to the direct military threat--a vital objective of imperialist arms modernization and confrontation policy consists in undermining the political power of the working class, destroying the intimate ties between party and people, destabilizing and eventually liquidating the socialist system. Our socialist state, too, was confronted early on with such hostile efforts, designed to restore capitalist exploitative conditions. Erich Honecker's speeches and essays demonstrate that GDR history is the history of struggle against imperialism and revanchism and, simultaneously, the history of the

defeats of those forces who are still unwilling to resign themselves to the existence and successful development of socialism on German soil. Every step in the construction of socialism needed to proceed in the course of the struggle against imperialism, in particular in the FRG. The experiences of this class conflict are immensely important specially at the present time. FRG revanchist forces are evidently endeavoring in the shadow of American missiles to lift their heads once again--despite all previous defeats--and even more energetically pursue their anachronistic designs, directed against peace.

Our party has always drawn the only correct conclusion from the open and concealed attacks, the military threats and subversive actions by aggressive and revanchist imperialist forces: To do everything possible to strengthen the political power of the workers and farmers, further develop the economy as planned, defend the socialist fatherland in every respect, consolidate the ties with the masses and arm the working people in terms of ideology. This tried and tested SED policy is reflected in Erich Honecker's words at the Seventh CC Plenum in November 1983: "Political stability, economic dynamism, the steady pursuit of the unity of economic and social policy for the benefit of the people are decisive for our contribution to the security of peace."

This close connection, the interrelation of our state's political and economic strength and stability with its active efforts on the international scene, its committed peace policy, has been particularly evident lately. Precisely because we do not allow any interference with the workers and farmers power, because we are merciless in its defense and tireless in its reinforcement, our party has a sound and unshakeable base enabling it, true to its principles and at the same time flexibly, to contribute to the implementation of the socialist community's constructive peace program and conduct a useful dialogue with all those who are prepared to champion peace. Resolute commitment to peace--coupled with Comrade Erich Honecker's tremendous personal efforts--has the unanimous assent of the people, effects the further deepening of the working people's confidence in their party and their state and thus vitally advances the political stability of the socialist society.

The book "Arbeitermacht zum Wohle des Volkes" [Workers Power for the Benefit of the People] persuasively illustrates the historic dimension and superiority of our society, where workers instead of exploiters exercise power. It variously documents the affirmation by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of our socialist state: "In the possession of political power, the united working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and allied with the farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people, accomplished a tremendous work of construction...Evidence was supplied on German soil also of the creativity of which a people is capable when arranging and steadily improving its life for its own benefit, without the exploitation of man by man." <sup>2</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "In Kampferfuellter Zeit Setzen wir den Bewaehrten Kurs des X. Parteitages fuer Frieden und Sozialismus Erfolgreicht Fort, 7. Tagung des ZK der SED" [At a Time of Struggle We Are Successfully Pursuing the Tried and Tested Course of the Tenth SED Congress for Peace and Socialism. Seventh SED CC Plenum], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1983, p 23.
2. Erich Honecker, "Progress and Peace, Friendship Among the Peoples and Solidarity Have a Permanent Home in the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 October 1984, p 3.

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CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION IN PROTECTING ENVIRONMENT MANDATORY

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 12 Oct 84)  
pp 1010-1017]

[Article by H. Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for Environmental Protection and Water Management: "Rational Utilization, Development and Protection of the Natural Environment"]

[Text] SED environmental policy, as an indivisible element of its general policy directed to the benefit of the people and the preservation of peace, pursues the objectives set in the SED Program to "preserve nature as the source of life, material wealth, health and the pleasure of man, rationally and on the basis of science utilize it..., so that it may serve the secure and happy life of coming generations in the communist society."<sup>1</sup> Two intimately linked tasks arise from this socially significant and long ranging assignment for the organization and protection of the natural environment: To improve the living and working conditions of the people and increase growth in the course of the rising efficiency of the national economy. Both serve the benefit of the people, present and future generations. That is the declared and implemented policy of the SED, the parties allied with it and our socialist state as well as of all social organizations in our country, which have committed themselves to socialism and peace.

Indivisibly Tied to the Struggle for Peace

Our present environmental policy is more intimately than ever tied to the policy for the preservation of peace, the avoidance of a nuclear holocaust because, in our age, this is the basic prerequisite for the preservation and protection of human life and the natural environment. All efforts to preserve the natural living conditions of the people, all our endeavors to achieve a rational utilization of natural resources and lower pollution--to keep air and water clean, protect our forests, lakes and oceans--make sense only if a nuclear world war is prevented, which would mean the end of human life and its natural environment. At the present time this calls upon us resolutely and across a broad front to combine our efforts against the dangers threatening mankind, arising from the policy of confrontation and arms modernization pursued by the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism and other NATO states--dangers in a dimension that far exceeds all those previously known--to

man, nature, forests, oceans and waters, the land, flora and fauna as well as the atmosphere.

The arms race, initiated by imperialism and constantly escalating even into space, is already causing irreparable damage to man and his natural environment. While the social circumstances of millions and more millions in the imperialist metropolises steadily deteriorate, arms expenditure is rising to immeasurable dimensions and are resulting in the unprecedented wastage of natural resources and raw materials, increasing pollution of the natural environment, the devastation of forests and vast stretches of cultivated land. The same forces responsible for all this also obstruct the implementation of urgently needed and even already agreed international programs for environmental protection. A fraction of today's arms spending would be enough to solve social problems worldwide, provide more assistance and aid to the developing countries, tackle long overdue international programs for environmental protection.

We simply cannot imagine the danger threatening mankind and its natural environment in a nuclear war, regarding which USSR and U.S. scientists warned of climatic effects (based on a computer prognosis). They showed that the firing of 10-15 percent of the present nuclear arsenal might well result in total darkness shrouding the earth for a year, that temperatures on the earth surface would drop by 15-20 degrees in the first month, 40-45 degrees in some regions, sources of waters freeze, all seed die, life in the oceans fade away and other serious consequences have to be expected.

All this permits only one conclusion, and this was emphatically reaffirmed at the CEMA summit meeting held in Moscow last June: "There is no more urgent task now than the preservation of world peace, the avoidance of a nuclear disaster. Of prime importance in this context is an end to the arms race, the transition to arms limitations, the maintenance of the military-strategic balance at a steadily lower level."<sup>2</sup> The policy of the socialist countries, oriented to that objective, is finding a distinct echo. When we regard the international scene, it is quite clear that it is not only the danger to peace, that has grown--so have the forces counteracting it. Realists the world over are increasingly aware that the protection and preservation of the life of man is the supreme obligation. This necessarily includes the appreciation that peace is the most important ingredient of environmental policy. Successful environmental policy stipulates the peaceful side-by-side of states with different social systems according to the principles of peaceful coexistence. As Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR Council of State, forcefully explained, it is in that spirit that we are continuing to bend all our efforts to the avoidance of a nuclear world war and an end to the arms race, particularly after the beginning of the emplacement of new American first strike weapons in Western Europe. Consonant with the fundamental attitude of all socialist fraternal countries and the vital interests of all peoples, the struggle to secure peace is the supreme commandment of action in our republic.

Constitutional Assignment: The Protection of Nature for the Benefit of the People

GDR environmental policy has a scientific foundation in the perceptions of Marxism-Leninism on the many interrelations between man, society and nature. This perception was well utilized in accordance with the situation of our country taking into account the experiences gained by the USSR and other socialist states in their environmental policies.

Conscious of the great humanist responsibility our socialist society bears for the utilization and protection of natural resources, our socialist legislation extensively deals with the tasks for the scientific organization of the steadily further developing interrelations of our society and nature. The GDR Constitution includes the mandatory obligation for state and society to take care of the protection of nature, in the interest of the citizens' well-being.

Many West European capitalist industrial countries still do not include in their constitutions any obligations for the preservation and protection of the natural environment. By contrast, the protection of the environment is a constitutional duty for everyone in our socialist state--whether state organs, enterprises or individuals. The first GDR Constitution of 7 October 1949 already required the assurance of the organization and cultivation of the countryside.

Our workers and farmers state has carried out environmental policies ever since its establishment, not in isolation but as an inherent element of its overall policy. Its stable foundation is the political power of the working class allied with the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people, the social ownership of the means of production and natural mineral and other resources. It is not reflected in ad hoc actions but--as must needs be the case in our socialist planned economy--is carried on as planned and with increasing far-sightedness by state organs, combines, enterprises and cooperatives.

Tasks involving the shaping and protection of the environment are parts of the plans of combines and enterprises, LPG's, ministries, local people's representations and their councils, and that applies to five-year plans as well as to annual plans. At the same time they are therefore indivisibly linked with the tasks for the implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. This has everywhere resulted in the steadily closer interlocking of the dynamic development of performance and efficiency with the rational utilization and protection of natural resources, also from the aspect of contributing to the improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people.

In contrast to the notion (widely held in Western countries) that environmental control and economic growth, ecology and economics generally conflict, whatever the social system, our social practice has confirmed that economic growth and environmental control are not in conflict in the socialist states. Indeed they help one another. "The efficiency of the economy must yield the resources needed for successful progress of many other sectors in

the spirit of our programmatic objectives. These include measures for the protection of nature and the environment." 3

It is the great merit of just this planned and far-sighted policy that we were able, consonant with the Eighth SED Congress resolutions, to improve environmental conditions in important fields at the same time as raising industrial goods production to about 180 percent, or at least maintain for the environment the standards achieved in the early 1970's. It is particularly significant that perceptible improvements for the working people were achieved in Berlin, the GDR capital, and other major cities and workers' centers.

#### Economic Strategy and Environmental Policy

The economic strategy enacted at the Tenth SED Congress focuses on the comprehensive intensification of our national economy. It is in full accord with the objectives of environmental policy, meets the requirements of the organization and protection of the environment in the organization of the developed socialist society. It is geared to the responsible and rational handling of energy, water, raw materials and other material resources. The development of our national economy in the 1980's is proof of this assertion. At the Seventh SED CC Plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker was able to conclude "that it is possible for us for a long time to come to raise output and the national income while lowering the consumption of energy, raw materials and other materials in absolute terms," and, therefore, rationally utilize natural resources and reduce pollution. This clearly demonstrates that the resolute implementation of our economic strategy is also entirely in the best interest of our environmental policy.

Resolutely to continue with the implementation of our economic strategy in this new phase consequently calls on our full commitment. Intensification must be achieved primarily by the exploitation of all our potential of science and technology, greater refinement of raw materials, the absolute reduction of production consumption, the conservation of materials and raw materials of all kinds, the rational use of energy and water--excluding any waste or wastage. Just like the increasingly complete recovery and utilization of secondary raw materials, the production and utilization of substances from waste products and waste water as well as the rational utilization of fixed assets, all this results in rising performance growth accompanied by growing efficiency. Obvious progress in the rational utilization of natural resources is involved, too, pollution of the air, the waters, the soil and the atmosphere is reduced and environmental conditions perceptibly improved.

By now the extent of the economical utilization of raw materials, the steady reduction in the incidence of waste products and the latter's increasing re-use in each combine, enterprise and cooperative have turned into a significant yardstick for the rational utilization of natural resources and the standard of production intensification achieved. This criterion provides much information about the quality of management of comprehensive intensification and, therefore, the rational utilization and protection of the environment.

The Schwarzheide Synthetics Plant Combine VEB is among the enterprises working in an exemplary manner with respect to waste products and water management. In the past 10 years this combine succeeded, by purposeful research and development and the introduction of the results achieved, in reducing waste production to 8 percent. At the same time 8,600 tons heating oil were saved by using waste gases and 1,600 tons various chemical raw materials (such as polyurethane and solvent residues from the production process, ammonia and phosphates from waste water) recovered for the production process--to a value of M12 million annually. Appropriate processes are now available for the re-use of the remaining waste products.

The comprehensive intensification of the production processes and the ensuing reduction in production consumption and increasingly better utilization of waste products, the increasingly improved efficiency of raw materials and other materials management also mean that fewer and fewer waste products pollute the environment. Obviously the increase in the utilization of industrial waste products from 12 million tons in 1975 to 30 million tons in 1983 goes hand in hand with a drop in pollution. In 1983, better secondary raw materials management and waste product utilization contributed M5.7 billion to the raw materials fund of our national economy.

Nevertheless we still have large reserves, especially in coal mining and the energy industry, the chemical industry, potash and copper mining, the wood pulp and paper industry, the textile industry and the food industry. They must be developed by even greater intensification and rationalization. Already the waste products of 30 groups of substances are dumped separately for future processing, so that they may be returned to the economic circulation. The task has been assigned more quickly to develop and introduce the appropriate production processes.

At the Seventh SED CC Plenum Erich Honecker concluded that the GDR is able, by its intellectual potential and material resources, to realize the rise in output required to continue pursuing the main task in future also. This conclusion has strategic significance for environmental policy, too. Important projects for the rational utilization of natural resources and environmental protection are linked to the necessity for the entire national economy, in preparation of the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan "now to tackle many new scientific developments, new technologies and rationalization projects of profound influence on economic efficiency, now to take economic decisions so that they may be effective then."<sup>5</sup> This applies to the development and increasingly widespread use of the integrated circulation of substances and water, production technologies low in or free of waste products, the steadily greater refinement of raw materials, the recovery of valuable substances from waste products and waste water, and the further development of secondary raw materials management. It also applies to scientific-technical advances with regard to the intensive utilization and protection of the soil on the basis of LPG and VEG [state farms] top yield conceptions. These include, among others, measures for the rational use of fertilizers, the expansion of irrigation--mainly by simple processes--, the rational use of water, the protection of waters and the utilization of every suitable square meter soil for agricultural production, many soil improvement and other measures for the



effective protection of the land. Our socialist society is working hard in many fields in accordance with the resolutions of the SED CC Politburo and the Council of Ministers on the increase in forest production and for protection of the forests.

Consequent on all these measures, it will be possible more rationally to use natural resources, continue considerably to improve environmental conditions. Of particular importance for this five-year plan are 112 production technologies low in or free of waste products already included in research and development projects agreed between the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Water Management and the industry ministries. Also important from the aspect of the national economy are production processes for the recovery and re-use of valuable substances occurring in waste products, waste water or on dumps. It is imperative to insist on the increasing combination of known procedures for the retention of waste products and the recovery of raw materials or greater materials conservation. We are working on the improved combination of filtering, dust collection and waste water treatment plants for the retention of pollutants with the recovery of valuable substances. In the case of desulfurization plant for flue gas desulfurization, the call has gone out to design them also for the recovery of raw materials such as sulfur, gypsum, fertilizers and building materials for road construction and pipes. All these development orientations are crucial also for more progress in environmental control. They are a contribution to the accomplishment of the tasks set in the new phase of the economic strategy and, at the same time, an important step toward the further improvement of environmental conditions for the working people--in particular in large cities and workers' centers. They fully respond to our perception that the implementation of the SED's economic strategy--based on comprehensive intensification--is the principal approach to the strengthening of our economic power as well as the rational utilization of natural resources and the future organization of harmonious relations between man and nature in our socialist society.

#### Extensive Interrelations of Man and the Environment in Socialism

In socialism, the organization of interrelations between man and nature by no means ends with the protection of nature. However necessary this task, it represents only part of environmental policy. As a part of overall policy it includes all the aspects of the interrelations between man and the environment--including those on the job, in residential and recreational areas. Let me remind you of the immense amounts our socialist state spends on the organization of a decent working, residential and recreational environment. In accordance with the Eighth SED Congress resolutions, housing conditions and the related environmental conditions were fundamentally improved for more than 6 million of our citizens. In connection with complex housing construction much was and is being done to expand the volume and quality of the potable water supply and of sewage treatment at the highest possible scientific-technical standard. Residential centers were relieved of noise by traffic solutions, of dust and smoke by modern heating. An attractive and healthy residential environment is in the making by the greening of new residential districts and of courtyards in reconstructed residential districts.

Since the Eighth SED Congress, more than 2 million work places for approximately 3 million workers have been converted. Their working environment was changed for the better. Accidents at work have dropped considerably. Much was done to lower the noise level in factories; much still remains to be done. Much has happened and continues to happen to improve the recreational value and attraction of recreational regions, both the traditional ones and those created anew in the vicinity of industrial areas and large cities. Also to be mentioned are the regulations on the utilization of strip mines once they are exhausted; the appropriate measures are provided for even before the mines begin to be developed. It is thus easier to gear ourselves to these measures in time and achieve the greatest possible profit from the subsequent landscapes for agricultural or forestry production and from residual holes in the ground as water reservoirs or recreational lakes. Tens of thousands of our people have been enjoying themselves for years in such new recreational centers in the vicinity of the Leipzig and Cottbus conurbations. Our society is constantly attentive to the preservation and protection of rare kinds of flora and fauna in nature conservancies as well as the cultivation of landscapes worth preserving in landscape conservancies.

Also increasingly effective is the system of measures for flood, coastal and storm protection in the guise of barrages, reservoirs, dams and dikes, locks and pumping stations also coast protection facilities and their constant maintenance as well as the appropriate utilization and management of land in exposed regions.

#### Many Citizens Initiatives

Citizens initiatives are indispensable for environmental policy in socialism. Each individual stands in a constant interrelation with nature and bears some responsibility for seeing that his behavior contributes to the careful treatment of nature and its riches, to the rational handling and protection of all its resources. Our country's constitution spells out the protection of nature as a matter for each citizen; it also guarantees all opportunities for active involvement. Citizens initiatives do not end with the ascertainment of possible improvements or needed prevention. They are reflected mainly in active involvement in the organization and protection of the environment. Their activism includes environmental control on the job, in the residential and recreational district just as much as active and creative participation in the socialist competition, the National Front's mass initiative "beautify our cities and communities--join in!", the countryside days and many other actions by social organizations. At the present time such tasks as the reduction of production consumption, the better utilization of secondary raw materials and waste products, the rational utilization and absolute lowering of energy and water consumption, the development and introduction of the integrated circulation of substances, production processes low in or free of waste products, the reduction in water, air or noise pollution, intensive land use and the rational use of mineral and organic fertilizers are already part of many enterprise and cooperative competition program and represent a wide field for innovators and rationalizers. This is also a clear vote by the working people in industry and farming for our environmental policy for the benefit of the people. It is an expression of conscious action in the spirit of the

recognized social responsibility held by every single individual.

Many FDJ activities are aimed in the same direction. That organization does a lot--in the socialist competition, the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow Movement and the performance comparison of young students--to inspire our youth with love to its socialist homeland and its socialist fatherland, to respect, protect and carefully treat nature. It arouses and organises many initiatives for involvement in tasks with respect to environmental control and protection.

I would also like to single out the politico-ideological, educational and organizational work done for years by the GDR Cultural League--in recent years in particular its "Society for Nature and the Environment"--in order to encourage socialist behavior in the treatment of nature and the active organization of environmental conditions. The Chamber of Technology, its special associations and enterprise sections, also do a great deal to make scientific-technical advances effective for the rational utilization of natural resources and environmental protection. That happens in particular in connection with the comprehensive intensification, rationalization and modernization of existing fixed assets. Also of the greatest value is the commitment of hundreds of thousands of people in the citizens initiative of the National Front, the activities of social organizations such as Urania, the Federation of GDR Architects, the German Union of Anglers in the GDR, the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers and Small Livestock Breeders, the German Union for Hiking, Mountain Climbing and Orienteering and, of course, the many scientific societies. Altogether, more and more working people, members of all classes and strata, share a lively involvement in the realization of our socialist environmental policy.

We note the continued confirmation of the Marxist notion that the culture of a society is also reflected in its relation to nature, the manner how nature operates in production and living conditions, whether and how nature is preserved, nurtured and protected by the people, properly utilized and consciously organized for present and future production and living conditions. All this requires from each individual in our socialist society a new type of attitude to nature, the steadily more perfect utilization of its resources and its protection. Both the economic and cultural relations of people to the environment must be actively organized. This presents a wide field for the work of all state organs, managers of combines and enterprises, executive boards of cooperatives and social organizations.

#### Responsible International Cooperation

Environmental policy offers a wide field to international cooperation. The GDR encourages and practices such cooperation. The decisive basis is CEMA's active involvement in the 160 scientific-technical tasks of the comprehensive program for the protection of nature. The CEMA countries' economic conference at the highest level of June 1984 decided that the rational utilization and protection of nature is to be one of the main trends of scientific-technical cooperation through 2000. Intimately related to this objective is the deepening of bilateral cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA states.

We are closely cooperating with our socialist neighbors, the CSSR and Poland, on measures of the organization and protection of the environment along our common borders.

It is the declared and realized policy of our socialist state, consonant with the final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation, to organize collaboration with nonsocialist states also, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual profit. A reflection of this resolve is our active cooperation in the implementation of the 1974 Baltic Convention, the ECE Convention on far reaching and border crossing air pollution, our constructive contribution to the Munich multilateral Conference on Environmental Control Issues, our bilateral cooperation with Sweden, Finland, Austria, Norway and Denmark and, lately, also the relations between the GDR and the FRG as well as West Berlin. Much is being done in the way of involvement in projects related to environmental protection within the framework of the United Nations Organization, in particular cooperation in UNEP and UNESCO programs.

The earlier results of international efforts by states with differing social systems with regard to the accomplishment of matured and necessary global and bilateral environmental tasks have clearly proved that there is no reasonable alternative here either to cooperation on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is all the more important, together with all peace loving forces, to redouble our efforts to deflect the peril of a nuclear world war, called up by imperialist reaction, and to do everything to get rid of the arms race and return to detente.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976, p 26.
2. "Statement by the CEMA Member Countries: 'The Preservation of Peace and Economic Cooperation'," EINHEIT, No 7, 1984, p 592.
3. Erich Honecker, "Speech at the International Scientific Conference of the SED Central Committee: 'Karl Marx and Our Age - The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress'," EINHEIT No 5, 1983, p 430.
4. Erich Honecker, "In Kampferfuellter Zeit Setzen wir den Bewaehrten Kurs des X. Parteitages fuer Frieden und Sozialismus Erfolgreich Fort" [At a Time of Struggle We Are Successfully Pursuing the Tried and Tested Course of the Tenth SED Congress for Peace and Socialism], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1983, pp 24/25.
5. Ibid, p 26.

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EXISTENCE OF ECOLOGY-ECONOMY ANTAGONISM REFUTED

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[Article by A. Kosing, Research Department head at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED CC, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences and vice president of the International Association of Philosophic Societies (FISP): "Nature and Society"]

[Text] In recent years, the relationship of human society with its natural environment has increasingly moved to the foreground of public attention. There is more than enough reason for this general interest, because mankind as a whole is now confronted with ecological issues to be resolved with due seriousness and responsibility.

What are the potential solutions for the problems of environmental organization and protection, and what are the conditions needed for them? Many proposals are being submitted to international discussion. Years ago, the Club of Rome advocated so-called zero growth, later "organic growth." Even now many call for the abandonment of any further economic growth. Others who diagnose the evil as originating entirely in large-scale industry and industrialized agriculture, propose a return to production in small and tiny enterprises or plead for "soft technologies." Some people think that an alternative lifestyle without nuclear energy, without industry and without concrete could lead us back to a state in which nature will again be "nature."

Was mankind's earlier progress--based on the development of productive forces--in fact the wrong track, and do we have to abandon it? As the result of the scientific-technical revolution's multiplication of the productive forces, is not mankind doomed to an ecological crisis, so that stagnation and, ultimately, integration become inevitable? Or is the state of development so far achieved by mankind, its productive forces, science and technology, social experience and social organization a viable basis for the resolution of environmental problems by way of further progress? Put this way, we are dealing with profound philosophical issues. To respond to them appropriately calls on us to discover the prime causes of the manifestations discussed, because it requires their accurate diagnosis to reveal the possibility for understanding the nature of the present environmental problems and indicate the approach to their resolution.



What is it that led to the impairment of the natural flow of events now being discussed worldwide? If it were the fault of a false theoretical or moral attitude of man to nature (as some assert), we would need, above all, a change in theoretical opinions or ethics. If, as others suggest, the development of modern productive forces, specially scientific-technical progress, necessarily ends in ecological disaster, we would either have to abandon scientific-technical advances or hope for a completely different technical way out.

Of course, the development of productive forces in our time, in particular by the scientific-technical revolution, resulted in a substantial intensification of the exchange of substances between nature and society--bound to have some adverse effects arising from some aspects of this development and requiring corrective measures beyond national frontiers. Nevertheless it would be misleading to overemphasize let alone consider nothing but this technical aspect in our examination of environmental problems. After all, involved here is a complex of connections, the interrelation between society and nature. To cope with the problems we must therefore not only concern ourselves with environmental control measures--however necessary and important these may be--but with a wider range of considerations regarding the rational and conscious organization of the interrelations between society and nature, based on scientific perceptions and their application.

#### Contradictory Interrelations

Ever since human society emerged from the animal kingdom--in other words nature--in the course of a long evolutionary process and assumed its characteristic features as the highest form of the motion of matter, nature and society have actively and steadily more intensively interfaced. Their relationship is that of a dialectic contradiction which moved and evolved in the course of human history.

Human society is able to keep alive, safeguard its reproduction and development only by engaging in the "struggle" with nature in order to acquire natural substances, processes and forces for the satisfaction of human needs. This implies the necessity consonant with the objectives of man to detach them from their natural relations, to change, tame, control and rule them. In material production this contradictory relationship of nature and society occurs in a concentrated form. "All production means the acquisition of nature by the individual within and by means of a particular form of society." <sup>1</sup> Man must constantly discover anew the qualities useful to him of substances and forces, compel them to serve him. And that always means the necessity to break the resistance of nature, remove the nature transformed by man from the blind operation of natural forces, protect them from the "destructive power of the natural metabolism." <sup>2</sup>

Man conducts this conflict with nature within the framework of the biosphere. As the biosphere is an organic system, within which all part systems and elements interrelate, substantial changes in one part system sooner or later result in changes in other part systems or even the system as a whole.

Deliberate interventions in natural events thus involve unintentional effects. We might say with Engels that nature takes revenge on man.<sup>3</sup> At times in human history, the unintentional long-range and side effects on the natural living conditions of man and the development of society were indeed greater and more lasting than the immediate objectives. Examples are the extermination of several species of large game due to hunting in ancient times, the deforestation of immense forests for lumber and fuel in times of slavery and feudalism.

To be able properly to understand and resolve problems arising at this time in the man-nature relationship due to the development of modern productive forces, we need to consider them from the aspect of socialism and capitalism, because the productive acquisition of nature for human purposes is always a social process. Men "only produce by collaborating in a particular manner and exchanging their work with one another. In order to produce, they enter into specific relations and relationships, and their relationship to nature, to production takes place only within these social relations and relationships."<sup>4</sup>

Every economic system of society develops its characteristic relationship with nature on the basis of its productive forces and production conditions. While the respective standard of development of the productive forces determines the potentials, the extent and intensity of the productive acquisition of nature, production conditions, in particular the ownership of the means of production and natural resources, are decisive for the use made of the technically available opportunities, the objectives served by the acquisition of nature, the long-term organization of the relationship of society to the natural environment and by the potentials available to the respective society for the resolution of urgent environmental problems. Due to the fact that environmental problems are always linked to the nature of the social system and the interests of the ruling class, they inevitably turn into a political issue. In our age this is part and parcel of the class war between labor and capital, between the working class allied to all working strata and the monopoly bourgeoisie, between socialism and imperialism, and in fact is increasingly the object of this conflict.

#### The Antagonism in the Countries of Capital

In view of the new problems of the man-nature relationship arising in our time, solicitous ideologues and propagandists of monopoly capital are straining to scare mankind with the threat of a general ecological crisis. The purpose of this manipulation is only too obvious. Their attempts are designed to shift attention from the socioeconomic causes of environmental problems in their society and, so to speak, distribute the "ecological crimes" of capital across mankind as a whole. Many of the current and very profound environmental damages have not arisen from one day to the next. From the aspect of history, they are the cumulative result of the development of the capitalist method of production and its aftereffects. Reflected in them at this time and in a very special manner is the antagonistic conflict between modern productive forces and obsolete capitalist production conditions; they are a particular expression and aspect of the general crisis of capitalism in the world historic era of the transition to socialism.

The productive forces developed by capitalism have facilitated man's growing technical mastery of many natural forces and processes. However, in this society of capitalist private ownership, the utilization of natural resources and all interventions in the budget of nature do not occur in accordance with a proper overall plan that also takes into account essential long-range and side effects. The profit of the individual capitalist or corporation, the efforts profitably to exploit more and more free services by nature--these are the motive force and objective of the progressive acquisition and mastery of nature. This trend has been aggravated by the scientific-technical revolution. Centuries of unrestricted exploitation of natural resources, the one-sided development of technology from the aspect of increased profits alone have turned the contradiction between nature and society into an antagonism intertwined with class antagonism. Capitalist society is just as unable to resolve it within its framework as it is to handle its social antagonisms. While the exacerbation of this antagonism has now achieved such dimensions that the reproduction conditions of capital itself are seriously impaired and, in part, entirely at risk, this does not signify a basic turn around of this society in its relationship to the natural environment.

Under pressure from public opinion and in view of the fact that the preservation of the reproduction conditions of capital has become an overall economic interest of the great bourgeoisie, the state in state monopolistic capitalism engages in various efforts to realize this overall interest by legislative standards, economic regulations and other measures. However, consonant with the economic laws of capitalism, the predominant economic interest of the various corporations, enterprises, and so on, remains the achievement of maximum profits, and this interest makes for the lasting deterioration of the environmental situation. The contradictory interests of capital are displayed in such macabre manifestations as the same corporation destroying, polluting and damaging the environment while at the same time marketing modern equipment to reduce or remove environmental damage--and earning a profit from both. This clearly demonstrates that the rational organization of society's relationship with the natural environment is not primarily a matter of the development of productive forces, equipment and technology but one of social conditions, production conditions and the economic interests arising therefrom.

As long as the acquisition and mastery of nature are based on capitalism, the antagonism between society and nature is bound to continue. The partial measures of environmental control, designed to safeguard the reproduction conditions of capital, develop new sources of profit and, at the same time, respond to the pressure of public opinion, do not signify a thorough and long-range resolution of the problem in accordance with an overall plan--because this would contradict the economic laws of capitalism. The further development of the scientific-technical revolution in capitalism will certainly produce new environmental equipment and technologies, but in its overall tendency necessarily reproduce the antagonistic contradiction between society and nature across a wider range and in an aggravated form. Despite the various measures adopted, environmental problems will worsen, and awareness grow of the need for radical change. The replacement of capitalism

by socialism is revealed with increasing emphasis as a "necessity of nature," not merely a social necessity.

#### According to an Overall Plan Based on Science

It needs the transition to a higher form of society to offer mankind the opportunity to tackle the pressing environmental problems for the long term, in accordance with an overall plan based on science, and to approach a settlement. In the nature of things we are concerned here with the conscious and planned organization of the interrelations between the socialist society and nature, with the objective so to organize and regulate all vital processes of society (in particular production and consumption) that they may harmonize with the natural laws and the circulation of the biosphere. Involved here is the need to consciously utilize the social laws and the corresponding laws of nature, so that the desired objectives in both society and nature are achieved without nature taking its revenge on man. Only then--Engels wrote prophetically--does man finally leave the animal kingdom and cast off all elements of primitiveness: "The living conditions encompassing man, that has hitherto ruled man, now becomes subject to the rule and control of man who, for the first time, is the conscious and real master of nature because he has become the master of his own socialization."<sup>5</sup> However, at the same time he pointed out that this is not only a matter of knowledge but presumes a qualitatively new society. "To carry this out requires more than just knowledge. It requires a complete revolution of our earlier production methods and, with it, of our current total social system."<sup>6</sup>

In the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries, this new society has already shown in practical terms that it is possible to overcome the antagonism between nature and society and produce a basically new society-nature relationship. In our republic, the evidence is furnished by such achievements as the extensive water management constructions, especially in the central mountains, the planned recultivation of exhausted strip mines and their transformation into agricultural and forestry land or attractive recreation areas, the forestry measures aimed at the systematic protection and reproduction of forests, the efforts to reduce the emission of pollutants.

In its environmental practice, socialism proved in a relatively short time that the contradiction between society and nature may, on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production and natural resources, the political power of the working class and the conscious and planned organization of social development, assume a form of advance which will increasingly reduce damage to the environment and finally avoid it altogether, with the result that the development of society may proceed in greater harmony with the laws and the circulation of the biosphere. This will certainly not happen by foregoing the further development of the productive forces and economic growth. On the contrary.

Decisive for the new quality of our relationship with nature are the harmonized basic interests of society, the classes and strata, the collectives and individuals. They aim, in accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, to safeguard and further improve the material and cultural standard



of living of the people in order to create the proper conditions for the free and all-round development of all individuals. This requires smooth economic growth, the rapid speed-up of scientific-technological progress and the improvement of the efficiency of social labor. This same objective also requires the rational utilization of natural resources, their planned reproduction and the avoidance of damage to the environment. After all, it corresponds to the general social interest of socialism to permanently use the natural conditions of life of human society for the further progress of mankind, to preserve and appropriately better them. The SED Program phrases this objective explicitly as one of the fundamental tasks involved in the further organization of the developed socialist society.

A planned and purposeful environmental policy, therefore, is an indivisible element of the further organization and perfection of the developed socialist society. Consequent on socialism's victory over the arbitrariness of social development, arbitrary behavior toward the natural environment also comes to an end and is increasingly replaced by conscious and rational behavior.

The further organization and perfection of the developed socialist society requires a tremendous upsurge of the productive forces, an enormous qualitative and quantitative economic growth--not as an end in itself but as the precondition for the improvement of human life. This need inevitably includes the necessity to further intensify the metabolism between society and nature, for more new natural resources to be used productively. This development of the productive forces and, in particular, scientific-technical advances will have the result that the criteria of anthropogenous changes in nature will grow. The demand, sometimes advanced, for foregoing the productive forces achieved or simply end their development, would not serve mankind and is sheer illusion besides. It is possible to cancel neither the objective laws of nature nor those of society, as long as the conditions persist from which they arose in the first place.

The earlier experiences of the socialist society confirm our opinion that the development of the productive forces, scientific-technical progress and economic growth in socialist conditions turn into decisive means for settling environmental problems. It needs substantial economic growth to ensure for the socialist society the material and financial resources required for planned environmental policy. It needs the development of modern productive forces on the basis of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution to allow us to create production processes and technologies facilitating a type of production that economizes resources and is as free as possible of waste products. It needs further progress in scientific research to deepen our knowledge of the connections and interrelations in the biosphere, thus expanding the theoretical basis for the scientific organization of the relationship between society and nature.

Practice therefore teaches us that the comprehensive intensification of the socialist national economy does more than increase economic efficiency. It also represents an effective method for reducing damage to the environment and indeed largely avoiding such damage. The more rational utilization of natural substances and their greater refinement as well as energy conservation



reduce the dimension of the necessary intervention in the budget of nature and also involve far fewer waste products. This trend toward the "ecologization" of production, its organization as the most integrated possible circulation of substances gains increasing importance alongside the further organization and perfection of the developed socialist society. Together with the long-range planned and resolutely tackled measures of socialist environmental policy, it helps the socialist society step by step to reduce environmental problems and to approach their resolution. This needs no spectacular turn-around, no major alternative, no new utopia; all it needs is the prudent utilization of all the benefits and opportunities offered by the socialist society because the historic turn-around has already occurred upon the transition to socialism.

The socialist society has the potential for man to organize his relations to the natural environment consciously and as planned also. However, this general statement should not be misunderstood to mean that socialism could overnight resolve the environmental problems that have accumulated in long periods of time. We are confronted with a major group of tasks, and coping with them will require enormous material resources, technical equipment and scientific knowledge. How quickly all these will be at our disposal will depend not only on the necessary development of the socialist economy, the productive forces, science and technology but also, and to a large extent, on the requirements of the international class conflict and the international situation.

No one can doubt that the arms modernization and confrontation policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles in the United States and other NATO countries diametrically counteracts the implementation of a constructive environmental policy such as settled in the final act of Helsinki and in other international agreements. Not only does the arms spiral, turned ever tighter by the Pentagon, devour enormous material resources that, used for civilian purposes, might contribute to the resolution of urgent environmental problems on our planet. Such a policy of extreme danger to peace also represents a direct threat to the environment. As Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in an exchange of opinion with a deputation of the FRG Federal Union of Citizens Initiatives for Environmental Protection, all efforts for the preservation of natural conditions of the life of man, the purity of air and water, the protection of forests, lakes and oceans, make sense only, if we succeed in preventing a nuclear world war which would annihilate mankind, destroy the vital conditions for human life.

Consequently, the struggle for disarmament, the preservation and safeguard of peace, the return to detente, has become the vital issue regarding the preservation and protection of the natural environment by man. The international cooperation of socialist and capitalist countries in environmental matters largely depends on the resolution of this problem. The states of the Warsaw Pact have submitted many proposals to that effect. Conscious of the seriousness of the situation with respect to environmental pollution and faithful to its peace loving policy, the GDR is doing everything in its power to contribute to the resolution of urgent environmental problems in Europe. It is actively involved in various international programs for the protection of the natural environment (such as keeping the Baltic clean, for

example). and is always committed to technical cooperation over and above the limits of the social systems.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx, "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economics," Collected Works, Vol 13, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1961, p 619.
2. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Collected Works, Vol 23, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, p 198.
3. See Friedrich Engels, "Dialectics of Nature," Collected Works, Vol 20, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, p 452.
4. Karl Marx, "Wage Labor and Capital," Collected Works, Vol 6, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1959, p 407.
5. Friedrich Engels, "Egon Duehring's Science Revolution," Collected Works, Vol 20, p 264.
6. Friedrich Engels, "Dialectics of Nature," as before, p 454.
7. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 September 1984, p 1.

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CSO: 2300/125

FUNCTION, HISTORY OF PEOPLE'S CHAMBER REVIEWED

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German vol 33 No 10, Oct 84 pp 771-779

[Article by H. Kelle and G. Schulze: "The People's Chamber of the GDR - Embodiment and Instrument of the Sovereignty of the Working People"]

[Text] As virtually no other state organ of the workers and farmers state, the People's Chamber reflects, by its constitutional status and practical operation, the fundamental social changes carried out in the course of 35 years of socialist development in the GDR. The GDR Constitution describes the People's Chamber as the supreme organ of state power.<sup>1</sup> It embodies the power of the working class and the people as a whole, taking a dominant role in the system of state organs in the implementation of the GDR's policies directed to the security of peace and the welfare of man.

When, at the foundation of the GDR on 7 October 1949, the German People's Council formed itself into the Provisional People's Chamber, a supreme popular representative body took the head of the new workers and farmers state. From the very beginning it made an end of the criteria of bourgeois parliamentarianism and organized its operations on socialist lines, identical with Soviet principles. In the eight electoral terms since elapsed, these new socialist principles of the People's Chamber's operations have emerged with increasing visibility in the following manner.<sup>2</sup> ,

First of all, in implementation of the resolutions adopted by the party of the working class, the People's Chamber, as the supreme state organ of power, legislates on all basic issues of state policy and, with mandatory effect for everyone, establishes the objectives of the GDR's development and the main rules for communal life of citizens, communities and state organs (Articles 48, 49 Constitution). This provides a clear perspective for social development in socialism and a common platform for all popular political forces for united action with regard to the realization of this development. The 142 laws enacted since the Eighth SED Congress (1971) offer persuasive evidence.<sup>3</sup> They encouraged political stability and economic dynamism, contributed to the realization of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, perfected socialist democracy, strengthened the socialist legal system and guaranteed the defensive strength necessary for the country. In contrast to the constitutions and practices of capitalist states--such as the Weimar Republic and FRG-- , where the government and

judiciary are given powers lifting them above parliament, nothing in the GDR restricts the sovereign powers of the People's Chamber.

In the second place, the composition of the People's Chamber reflects the community of interests of all political and social forces of the socialist society, led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. All classes and strata of the people in the GDR are represented in the People's Chamber, without any exception whatsoever. All parties and mass organizations united in the democratic bloc join with the representatives in the work of the People's Chamber's. Among the 500 deputies elected to the People's Chamber on 14 June 1981, 338 (67.6 percent) are men, 162 (32.4 percent) women. Forty-six deputies (9.2 percent) were 25 or less on election day. University graduates account for 272 deputies (54.4 percent), technical school graduates for 101 (20.2 percent). The political and social make-up of the supreme people's representative body personifies the political power of the working class and its alliance<sup>4</sup> with the cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and other working people.

In the third place the People's Chamber operates as a working public body and implements the principle of the unity of resolution and implementation (Article 48 Paragraph 2 Constitution). It attends to its tasks, rights and duties at its meetings, in its presidium and committees as well as by the work of deputies in electoral districts and work collectives. The deputies are people in normal work, not professional parliamentarians. It therefore holds true to say about the People's Chamber, that its deputies "themselves work, themselves carry out their legislation, themselves check the effects of implementation, themselves directly assume responsibility toward their voters."<sup>5</sup>

In the realization of these principles, the People's Chamber has provided a significant contribution to the GDR's growing into "a socialist state with a highly developed economy, an educational system respected the world over, a rich national culture and a reliable national defense."<sup>6</sup> It has steadily improved the social efficacy of its work and concentrated increasingly on the discussion and settlement of basic development problems arising in the further organization of the developed socialist society.

All sectors of social life, the national economy, science, education, culture, social living conditions, order and security, the defense of the socialist society and the GDR's international relations--directed to the preservation of peace--are subject to the legislation and supervision of the People's Chamber. At its plenary meetings it enacts the laws of the GDR, elects the presidium, determines the principles for the work of the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the National Defense Council, the Supreme Court and the public prosecutor system. By the five-year, annual and budget plans it establishes the basic orientation for the GDR's economic and social development. The way the Plenum of the People's Chamber handles basic issues regarding the security of peace, the consolidation of the GDR's international standing, economic and social policy as well as the working and living conditions of GDR citizens, demonstrates its role as the supreme organ of state power and its popularity among the people.

The work of the People's Chamber cannot be measured by the turbulence of its debates, the frequency of its meetings, the sheer numbers of laws enacted, but by its successful efforts to preserve peace and benefit the people. In the years to come, crucial for the further smooth organization of the developed socialist society and the comprehensive intensification of its economy, the People's Chamber will continue to contribute its creative efforts. It is "to even further define its nature as a working public body, both in the preparation of legislation and in regard to implementation and supervision. We support the efforts even more to concentrate the work of deputies and committees on the generalization of best experiences in the implementation of the legislation adopted by them."

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Since the establishment of the People's Chamber, committees have proved a link between legislation and practice, between deputies and voters, as important organs for the preparation of legislation and supervision of its implementation as well as the mass political and expert explanation of the party and state policy, which form the basis of legislation. In the current electoral term also, the People's Chamber set up 15 committees at its constituent meeting; 362 deputies and 136 successor candidates are involved in these committees. Some committees coopted private citizens as permanent advisers. They may also temporarily coopt various experts.

The committees are much involved in the legislation enacted by the People's Chamber. All laws enacted by the People's Chamber are discussed in committee before final adoption. The constitutional and legal committee generally handles all draft legislation, the other committees operate in accordance with their special competences. Ministers or managers of other central state organs usually attend the discussions and explain the draft legislation. The ensuing debate is enriched by the experiences gained by deputies in talks with working people, collective investigations and exchanges of experience. The arguments in committee often result in draft legislation being amended. At plenary sessions, the committees orally or in writing comment the draft legislation.

Important draft legislation, directly affecting all working people, is publicly debated as provided by the Constitution. This discussion may be managed by a committee. The public discussion of the draft civil code, for example, was carried out under the joint auspices of the constitutional and legal committee of the People's Chamber and the Ministry for Justice, in conjunction with the FDGB and the GDR National Front. Every written proposal and every oral suggestion in the discussions was considered. A joint study group of the constitutional and legal committee of the People's Chamber and the Ministry for Justice evaluated the suggestions and worked them into the draft legislation.

It has been found useful at an early stage to involve the committees in the preparation of draft legislation. Early information of the committees and their members on the main substance of the laws to be expected, often serves to develop many reserves for the preparation and enactment of the



laws and their implementation. The deputies are better able to contribute their special knowledge and experiences as well as the results of their political work with the masses to the enactment of the legislation and provide suggestions for relevant and transparent legislation. They can also propose first suggestions for the implementation of the future laws even at the time of enactment. According to Article 65 Constitution, the committees are entitled to initiate legislation.

While the committees are specifically competent for various sectors of social life, the work of all of them must focus most strongly on the enactment and implementation of national economic and state budget plans as well as five-year plans. By key tasks set out in operations plans and by work in the electoral districts, they prepare themselves for the discussion of these plan laws. This preparation also includes the supervision of plan implementation in the various social sectors. In the eighth electoral term, for example, the committees carried out public meetings and debates on the law on the economic plan and thereby helped the implementation of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy. By 31 March 1984, 155 committee meetings, 232 study group sessions and 50 study group discussions had taken place. In this context, the committees concentrated on the realization of the economic strategy and the further rise in the national economy's performance, the improvement of the efficiency of science and technology, the innovator system and scientific labor organization, initiatives for the purposeful fulfillment and overfulfillment of economic plans and the ongoing improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people, issues of the intensification and rationalization of production and problems of regional rationalization, the rational utilization and efficient deployment of the social labor capacity, the development of reserves in the commercial sectors, the health system, popular education and culture, activities in the socialist mass competition of the working people, especially the young, the thrifty and sensible handling and use of financial and material funds in all sectors of social life, communist education and the evolution of a lively intellectual-cultural life for the young, the observance of socialist legality as well as issues of order and security.

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The steadily growing activism of the working people in the GDR in the struggle to fulfill the Tenth SED Congress resolution--"that is socialist democracy in action, making the sole proprietor of all social wealth the organizer of his fate and his well-being." People's Chamber deputies have a high personal stake in the creative mass initiative led by the SED and the good results to be reported in the GDR's anniversary year. Together with their collectives, they organize the struggle for the purposeful realization of the main task and are among the leaders of actions designed to mobilize the citizens in the National Front competition "beautify our cities and communities - join in!" In the electoral districts and their spheres of work, People's Chamber deputies are charged with explaining the general policy of party and government, coupled with its realization in local politics. This responsible political work with the masses exerts a direct influence on the further strengthening of the citizens' confidence in the socialist

state. It encourages their conscious cooperation in the all-round reinforcement of the GDR in combines and enterprises, cooperatives and facilities as well as in residential districts.

Together with the district councils, the district committees of the National Front regularly conduct informational meetings in their electoral districts for the deputies of the supreme people's representation. These relate to basic tasks of economic and social policy, issues relating to the fulfillment of the plan and other key points of development in the region. These informational meetings are coupled with visits to key factories and farm production cooperatives. The people's representatives are familiarized with the problems of these enterprises, inform themselves about plan fulfillment, the working, housing and living conditions of the working people and also have an opportunity to directly talk to the working people, report to them and conduct clinics.

We have learned from experience that People's Chamber deputies more concretely and efficiently organize their contacts with the voters, managements of social organizations, National Front committees and state organs if they concentrate on a particular region within the electoral district for the length of their term. They are then able via the kreis committees of the National Front and the local councils to long-term organize their political actions in the specific area. They make lasting contacts with their voters by regularly presenting themselves to the working people in the work collectives, factories, institutions, residential districts, building communities and family circles. This also includes reporting and the processing of applications. To the extent that People's Chamber deputies politically work among the citizens, listen to them and have their opinions affect state decisions, their authority tends to grow. Strengthened thereby is the relation of confidence between them and the working people, between the citizen and the state. Consequently the benefits arising to society, the collective of working people and citizens must always be the yardstick for the work of the deputies.

Groups of deputies, involving people's representatives of all levels affect the close cooperation of local people's representations and their councils with enterprises and cooperatives. Many People's Chamber deputies act as chairmen or members of groups of deputies. Hennigsdorf, Potsdam Bezirk, has recorded remarkable experiences in this field. In two major factories, the Hans Beimler LEW [locomotive construction and electrotechnical plant] and the Wilhelm Florin Steelworks and Rolling Mill, the brisk work of the groups of deputies active there has generated an exceptionally sound link with the region. It is the basic concern of the two groups of deputies to see to it that the resolutions adopted by the local people's representations are effectively carried out in their own enterprise as well as in the region as a whole. This involves rational energy use, among others, as well as the improvement of working and living conditions. Eased at the same time is the work of the city council and the councils of the villages in the vicinity, while the authority of the deputies is increased, and favorable conditions are created for good plan fulfillment in both factories. It is also better possible by this means to arouse the interest the working people in the development of their residential areas and encourage their activism, specially in the "join in!" competition.

It has been noticeable for some time, that more and more young deputies of all people's representations tend to set up clubs for young deputies in cities and city districts, as some kind of regional groups of deputies. Membership in these clubs offers the young deputies additional opportunities for information and qualification, especially by the exchange of experiences. This youth-appropriate type of the people's representatives' political work with the masses offers a great deal of help to the deputies in the accomplishment of their tasks on the job, in the residential district and the youth federation. At the initiative of the Wernigerode SED kreis leadership organization, for example, such a club was established in 1981 for young deputies who are domiciled in that city and are members of people's representations ranging from the city itself to the supreme GDR people's representation. The club serves to promote the exchange of experiences among the deputies, close working contacts are established between experienced and freshmen deputies, information conveyed on the status of plan fulfillment in the enterprises of the region (particularly in construction), and issues of the development of services, vacationer traffic, and so on discussed. Provided with the appropriate guidance, the young deputies also familiarize themselves with the law. They discuss efficient types and methods of conducting clinics, reports and other aspects of publicity work. They obtain advice from experienced party and state officials for the work with citizens and citizen concerns. Members of the club of young deputies present themselves to their voters and assist them with a wealth of knowledge and experience.

Since the socialist state was established, the Constitution has insisted that the meetings of the People's Chamber be held in public. Though Article 62 provides for the possibility, at the request of at least two thirds of deputies present, to exclude the public, no use has been made of this clause in the 35 years the supreme people's representation has been in existence. Accordingly, the correspondents of the mass media are present in the chamber at all meetings of the People's Chamber, together with members of the diplomatic corps and other guests. As mediators, reporters and commentators of the proceedings, they have reported 230 meetings of the People's Chamber.

In December 1983 the economic plan and the state budget plan for 1984 were submitted to the 500 People's Chambers deputies for discussion and enactment. Some 80 reporters from the GDR's central mass media followed the daily proceedings in the plenary hall to provide topical information for all citizens. Also invited--as to other meetings of the People's Chamber--were the correspondents of some 160 publications of other countries, accredited with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. This People's Chamber plenum was immediately preceded by meetings of 11 committees, where the deputies debated the plan drafts. They were attended by a total of 90 GDR television, radio, ADN, ZENTRALBILD, major daily and technical review reporters as well as by employees of the DEFA documentary film studio. This extensive coverage of legislation is deepened and complemented between meetings of the supreme people's representation by radio and television broadcasts and newspaper articles, in particular on the work of the committees of the People's Chamber. In 1983, some 800 publications documented the close cooperation between committees and publication organs such as provided for by the People's Chamber standing orders, Article 35 Paragraph 4.

About 1,500 reports on the work of the People's Chamber in 1983 document the involvement of the public, the presence of the citizens at the time of legislation and the supervision of implementation as well as the active interparliamentarian efforts of the supreme people's representation. Visits by foreign parliamentary delegations and travel by People's Chamber delegations to other countries are well publicized in texts and pictures in the reporting of the mass media.

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The interparliamentary work of the People's Chamber began in 1955 with the visit of 16 USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. It now has a firm place in GDR foreign policy. Set up in the same year was the interparliamentary group of the GDR, of which all 500 People's Chamber deputies are members. In 1972 it was admitted to the Interparliamentary Union (IPU), the international organization of parliamentarians in existence since 1889. For almost 30 years now, the People's Chamber and its deputies have done extensive and active work in the interparliamentary field and within the scope of the IPU. Their work has helped advance the GDR to a respective place among international community of peoples. The supreme people's representation maintains official contacts with approximately 100 parliaments of countries in all parts of the world.

Guided by the Tenth SED Congress resolutions, the People's Chamber systematically expanded and deepened its international contacts since the beginning of the eighth electoral term in June 1981. The exchange of delegations with other parliaments was strengthened both qualitatively and quantitatively. Meetings took place with leading representatives of 46 parliaments. The People's Chamber thus took into account the increased international challenges and provided an important contribution to the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community of nations, in particular to the struggle for the preservation of peace, for international detente and disarmament and for foiling the aggressive U.S. and NATO imperialist arms modernization and confrontation policies.

Since 1981, delegations from 36 foreign parliaments visited the GDR, People's Chamber delegations traveled to 21 countries. Moreover many parliamentarians from all over the world were received for talks in the People's Chamber. Delegations of the GDR Interparliamentary Group actively and constructively attended IPU conferences and meetings in Havana, Lagos, Budapest, Rome, Helsinki and Geneva as well as the Baghdad conference of the Arab Parliamentary Union. In all these meetings they represented coordinated socialist foreign policy. The opportunities for the People's Chamber's international involvement also expanded by personal contacts and links enjoyed by many deputies thanks to their professional work.

In the eighth electoral term, cooperation with the parliaments of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of nations continues to enjoy priority in the international operations of the People's Chamber. The exchange of delegates served to further deepen the close relations and contacts with the supreme people's representations of the Warsaw Pact states, the Mongolian People's Republic and Cuba. In line with tradition,



a delegation from Lenin's country was the first parliamentary delegation to visit the GDR in July 1981, a month after the last elections to the People's Chamber. People's Chamber contacts and cooperation with the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland were particularly intensified last year. In June 1984, for example, a politically important meeting of young deputies from both countries took place in Szczecin. It was coupled with a joint peace demonstration, attended by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, Egon Krenz, member of the SED CC Politburo, and Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm.

In the past 3 years, the People's Chamber cooperated extensively with Afro-Asian and Latin American parliaments. The exchange of delegations with 21 parliaments renewed and deepened existing contacts, and interparliamentary relations were entered into with some others. The People's Chamber now maintains interparliamentary relations with most African, Asian and Latin American countries. These benefit the shaping of the GDR's policy toward these countries and contribute to the ongoing consolidation of active anti-imperialist solidarity. It backs mainly those forces who pursue a progressive development in their countries and endeavor to establish closer relations with socialist countries. Countries with a socialist orientation, such as Angola, Mozambique and Congo, were the recipients of experiences in the construction of socialism. In view of the increasing threat of war, caused by the most aggressive circles of imperialism (in particular the United States), exchanges of opinions with parliamentarians and other leading representatives of developing countries such as India, Syria, Algeria, Kuwait, Libya, Tanzania, the Philippines, Cyprus, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Peru and the Palestinian National Council were important for the continuing reinforcement of the anti-imperialist front and the related strengthening of the peace movement.

The People's Chamber's contacts with parliaments of capitalist countries, specially in Europe, have also increased in the current electoral term. A political dialogue (or several of them) was conducted with leading parliamentarians of the NATO states Great Britain, Italy, France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Iceland and Greece, with representatives of various fractions and committees of the German Bundestag and the nonaligned European countries Finland, Sweden and Austria as well as Japan. These talks focused on issues relating to the struggle for the preservation of peace, international detente and security, arms limitation and disarmament as well as the continuing pursuit and deepening of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The People's Chamber deputies consider that every international meeting must be used to unmask the antipeace policy of the reactionary circles of imperialism, to soften confrontation, pursue the constructive dialogue and thus promote peaceful coexistence. The present situation calls on the parliamentarians of all countries to resolutely defend peace. The extensive activities of the People's Chamber and its organs in domestic and foreign policy demonstrates that the supreme organ of state power in the GDR champions the policy of peace and popular prosperity.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Article 48, GDR Constitution, in the version of the Law on the Complementation and Amendment of the Constitution of 7 October 1974, GB1 I p 432.



2. See "Staatsrecht der DDR. Lehrbuch" [GDR Constitutional Law. Textbook], Berlin 1977, pp 318f; H. Kelle/G. Schuilze, "The People's Chamber - The Supreme Organ of State Power in the GDR," STAAT UND RECHT 1978, pp 734ff; the same authors. "The People's Chamber - Trustees of the People's Interests," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, pp 202ff.
3. This includes (among others) the Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs (1973), the Youth Law (1974), the Law on the Processing of Citizens' Petitions (1975), the Civil Code (1975), the Labor Code (1977), the Law on National Defense (1978), the Passport Law (1979), the Animal Husbandry Law (1980), the Marital Status Law (1981), the LPG Law (1982), the Nuclear Energy Law (1983).
4. Classified by social composition (profession learned or first job), membership of the People's Chamber in the eighth electoral term is made up of:
 

Workers	236 = 47.2 percent
Members of LPG's, working independent farmers, gardners	52 = 10.4 percent
Members of the intelligentsia	115 = 23.0 percent
White collar workers	89 = 17.8 percent
Others	8 = 1.6 percent
5. V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 25, Berlin 1972, p 89.
6. "Appeal to the 35th Anniversary of the Establishment of the German Democratic Republic," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21/22 January 1984, p 1.
7. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [SED Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress. Reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin 1981, pp 116ff.
8. Horst Sindermann, "The Foundation of the KPD 65 Years Ago - An Event of Historic Portent," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 30 December 1983, p 4.

11698  
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NEW RADIO LINK SYSTEM DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1984 (signed to press 13 Jul 84)  
pp 239-242

/Article by Col Dr W Hanisch and Col Dr H.-Kl Neske, both engineers:  
"FM 24-400 Radio Link Device -- Concept and Hints for Its Use"/

/Text/ 1. Characteristics and Basic Technical Conception

The FM 24-400 radio link device is a new development of the VEB Robotron Electronics Radeberg.-1- Its performance characteristics could be significantly improved due to novel technical solutions and modern components (see cardboard insert in the middle of this issue, Table 1). The following are noteworthy:

- the relatively broad frequency band (320 to 470 MHz),
- the large number of LF channels for transmission,
- digital frequency generation which makes possible rapid frequency change, and
- the continuously variable transmission power.

Level matching makes it possible to use different multiplex equipment with the appropriate channel capacity. The built-in circuits for delimiting errors and monitoring important criteria of the operating state still further enhance its great user friendliness.

The radio link device is designed for various application variants:

- radio link terminal or double terminal,
- radio link relay or junction point,
- insertion of a radio link section into a channeled transmission section.

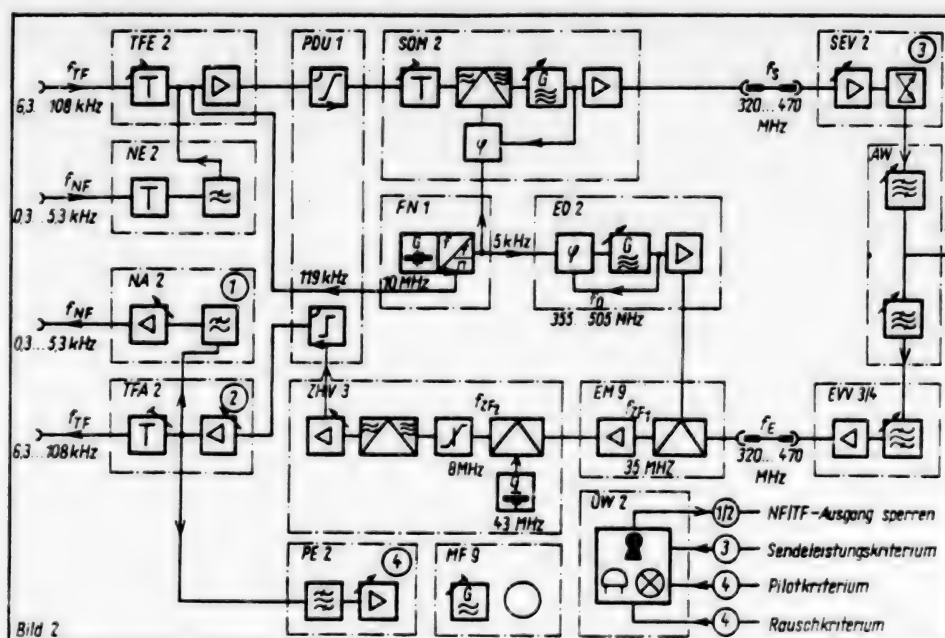
-1- Manufacturer's designation: FM 24-400 radio link device (without antenna system), FM 24/400 radio link system (including antenna).

Here the primary groups of the carrier frequency device (switching, conversion, resolution) are used differently. Table 2 (cardboard insert) shows which sets of devices are equipped with the FM 24-400 radio link device.

The attenuation elements of the AF input and output components are adjustable in 0.5 dB steps. As a result, the radio link device has available an AF input level range from -19 to -49 dBr and an AF output level range from -11 to -41 dBr. The LF input and output sections make it possible to insert the service channel and the signal channel into the base band that is being formed and to loop out in the receive direction. In the antenna switch, a micro sensor automatically switches off the transmitter when the interval between

Figure 2. Overall circuit diagram of the FM 24-400 radio link device (simplified) according to (4).

TFE 2 AF input section, NE 2 LF input section, NA 2 LF output section, TFA 2 AF output section, PDU 1 pre- and deemphasis changeover, ZHV 3 IF main amplifier, PE 2 pilot receiver, SOM 2 transmitter oscillator with modulation, FN 1 frequency standard, MF 9 measurement panel, EO 2 receiver oscillator, EM 9 receiver mixer, UW 2 monitor aid, SCV 2 final transmitter amplifier, AW antenna switch, EVV 3/4 receiver pre-amplifier.



- Key:
- 1/2 LF/AF-block output
  - 3 Transmission power criterion
  - 4 Pilot criterion
  - 4 Noise criterion

the transmitting and receiving frequency falls below a certain minimum. A counter discriminator is inserted in the IF main amplifier, which guarantees higher linearity of the demodulation characteristic and thus very low harmonic distortion. The principle of frequency generation can be seen in Figure 3. The adjustable frequency divider is constructed with TTL circuits. Upon channel selection, it is set to such a division ratio that the required transmission frequency is produced. This is done by the principle of the phase regulator circuit. The receiver oscillator frequency is generated in similar fashion, but with a difference that it lies higher by the magnitude of the first intermediate frequency.

## 2. The Planning of Radio Links with the FM 24-400

Knowledge of the specific properties of the relevant radio link devices is a precondition for planning optimal radio links. The properties of the antenna system and the selection characteristics that can be achieved in the combination of radio link devices and antennas are central points for the planning of radio link lines and for selecting the outer channels of a radio link.

The basic principles for planning radio links have been presented in detail and with general validity in Reference (5). These basic principles will be supplemented below with the specific electrical properties that are required for planning radio links with the FM 24-400 radio link device. Furthermore, the general principles for determining obstacle attenuation in (5) for radio links in the 400-MHz range will be updated in accord with present-day information. For this reason, the terminology used in (5) will also be used here, although, since the publication of (5), the terminology in the literature has changed somewhat.

### 2.1. Antenna System

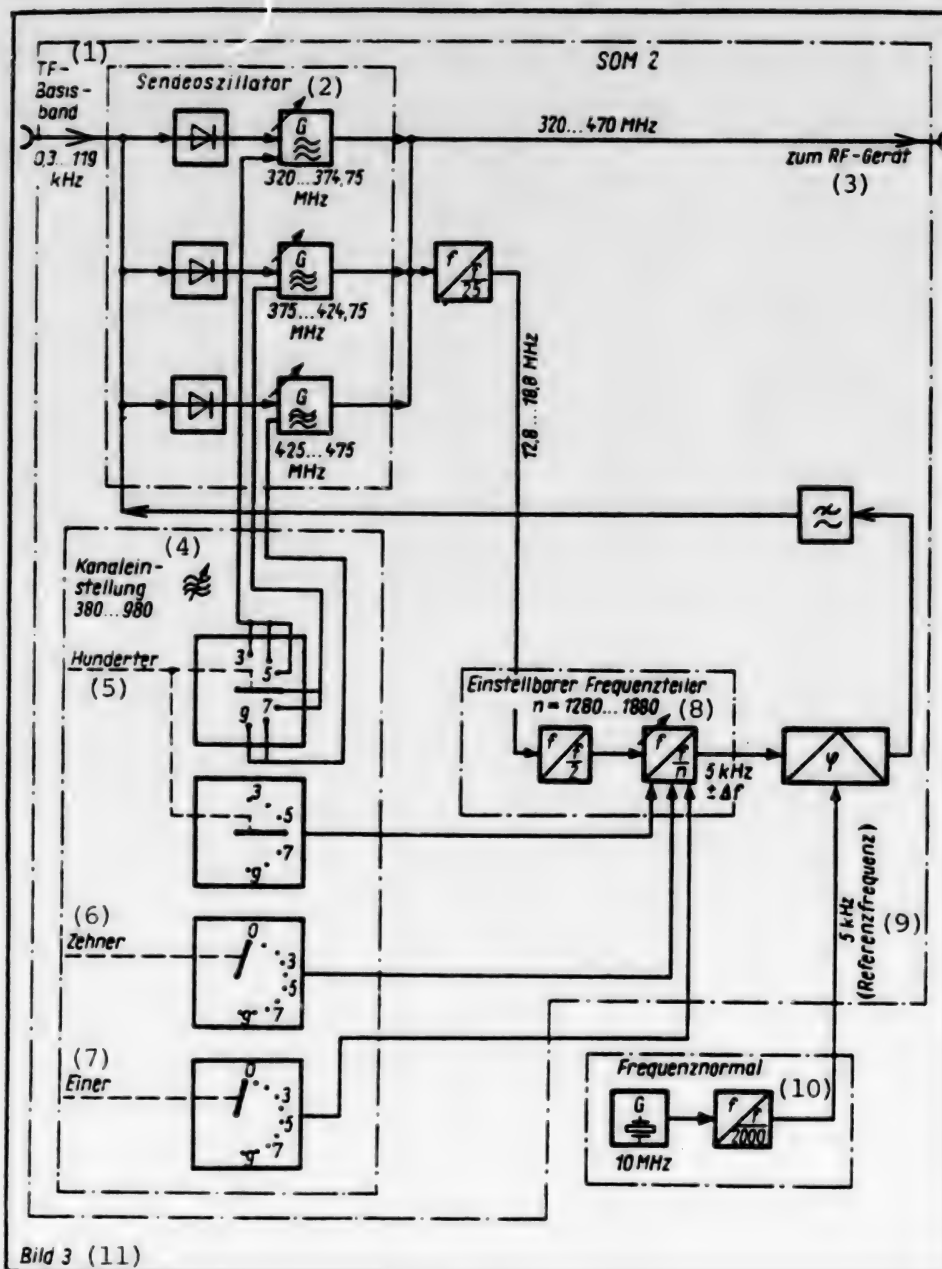
#### 2.1.1. Overall Structure

The antenna system consists of the F 5114 antenna and the antenna cable. Since 1983, the HF-cable 50-12-3 is used as the antenna cable. For very short connections with high flexibility, one can also use the HF-cable 50-7-2. The average continuation constants of these HF-cable types can be found in Table 3 (cardboard insert).

A 20-m antenna mast F 5127 is also included in the delivery of the mobile device system based on the FM 24-400. It was developed for operations with change of location. There are two designs which differ in the number of allowable antennas (dipole groups). Some properties of this antenna mast are collected together in Table 4 (cardboard insert).

The mast consists of 10 mast tubes which are about 2 m long and a mast tip which is about 0.8 m long. It is possible to convert the 03 design to the 04 design. For this, it is necessary to affix an additional special antenna mount for the second antenna which also contains the fasteners for the additional section between guide poles. Further details about the antenna mast can be found in (6).

Figure 3. Overall circuit diagram of the frequency generator (transmitter).



- |      |   |                           |    |                              |
|------|---|---------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| Key: | 1 | AF base band              | 7  | Units                        |
|      | 2 | Transmission              | 8  | Adjustable frequency divider |
|      | 3 | To the RF unit            | 9  | 5 KHz (reference frequency)  |
|      | 4 | Channel setting 380...980 | 10 | Frequency standard           |
|      | 5 | Hundreds                  | 11 | Figure 3                     |
|      | 6 | Tens                      |    |                              |



### 2.1.2. Structure of the Antenna

Several designs can be used for the antenna. All contain as their basic component a logarithmic-periodic dipole row which has a plug connection.

The F 5114:01 design consists of a row of dipoles which can be fastened, by means of a dipole support, onto a masthead with definite dimensions. The spacing of the dipole support from the front edge of the row of dipoles is 1070 mm. The row of dipoles can be mounted in the dipole support in two levels with a perpendicular separation from one another. In this way, one can set horizontal or vertical polarization of the radiation. The antenna cable is connected by means of a special mounting which contains an HF transfer element socket/socket.

The F 5114:02 design consists of two rows of dipoles which are arranged next to one another in the horizontal level at a distance of 1045 mm. The antenna support has two different dipole supports. One of these is identical with the F 5114:01 design. The two rows of dipoles are electrically connected together through a distributor to form a dipole group. The distributor is moveably connected with the antenna support via a special mounting. The distributor connection on the device side is designed as a socket to facilitate direct connection of the antenna cable.

The F 5114:03 design corresponds to the F 5114:02 design. However, the accessories comprise not only the distributor but also the special mounting for operating the single row of dipoles. Normally, the dipole group is used as the antenna. The reference attenuation of the external RF transmission channel of the FM 24-400 also comes from this. (See 2.2.)

Other details can be found in (7).

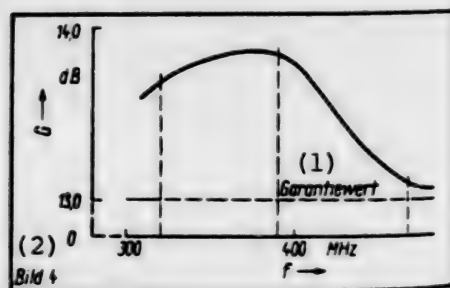
### 2.1.3. Characteristic Impedance and Radiation Properties

All the antenna designs have a characteristic impedance of 50 Ohms in cross section 7/16. So that the two 50-Ohm rows of dipoles can be connected together to form a 50-Ohm dipole group, the distributor was dimensioned as a coaxial  $\lambda/4$  transfer.

The characteristic radiation properties of antennas are their gain and their directional characteristics.

For a row of dipoles, the gain as compared to a spherical radiator is  $\geq 10$  dB, and for the dipole group, it is  $\geq 13$  dB. The row of dipoles is dimensioned so that it has optimum radiation properties in the middle of the RF band. The frequency dependence of the gain of a dipole group is shown in Figure 4. The gain is higher at the lower band limit than at the upper band limit. The maximum gain is about in the band center. The gain of the dipole group does not depend on polarization.

Figure 4. Frequency dependence of the gain of a dipole group relative to a spherical radiator for horizontal and vertical polarization.



Key: 1 Guaranteed value  
2 Figure 4

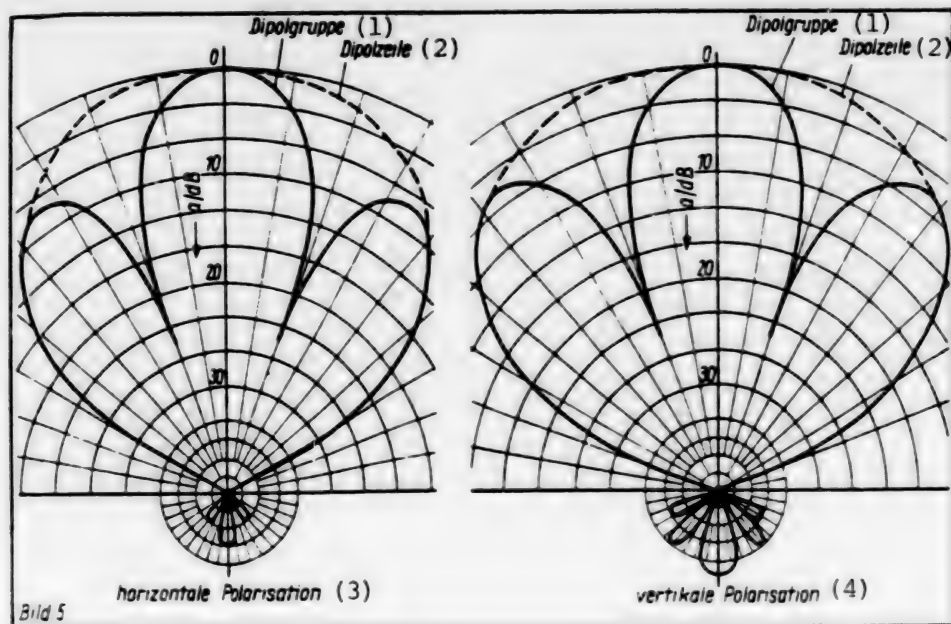
The directional characteristics of a row of dipoles and of a dipole group, with horizontal and with vertical polarization, in the middle of the RF band are shown in Figure 5. The frequency dependence of selected parameters of the frequency characteristic of the two antenna types can be found in Figure 6. In particular, it can be seen from this figure that the main radiation range of the dipole group is independent of polarization (same half width, same position of the first minimum for both polarizations). In contrast to the individual row of dipoles, the dependence of polarization for the dipole group appears only in the side lobes. So that the plot will remain clear, only the main radiation lobe has been drawn for the row of dipoles. The attenuation of the first secondary maximum of the row of dipoles is greater than 30 dB.

All data in Figures 4, 5, and 6 were measured on individual antennas. Because of the unavoidable fluctuation among different exemplars, these figures serve only as an orientation concerning the actual range of values and as a clarification of the frequency dependence.

#### 2.1.4. Setting Up the Antenna

There are couplings between neighboring antennas. These must be taken into account in connection with selection considerations and determine the allowable minimum spacing of the usable RF channels. These couplings arise on the one hand directly via the radiation fields of the antennas. On the other hand, they arise indirectly as a consequence of environmental influences, both from the immediate environment at the set-up location and also from the more remote environment through group and obstacle reflections. They are determined by many influential factors, whose effects are difficult to trace individually. Certain minimum decouplings are necessary, and from these, one can derive certain conditions for the geometric distances between neighboring antennas and for the selection of their erection site.

Figure 5. Directional characteristics of a row of dipoles and of a dipole group in the center of the RF band at  $F=390$  MHz.



- Key:
- 1 Dipole group
  - 2 Row of dipoles
  - 3 Horizontal polarization
  - 4 Vertical polarization

As regards the distances between neighboring antennas, consisting of dipole groups, the following holds independent of the polarization:

With two antennas on one mast

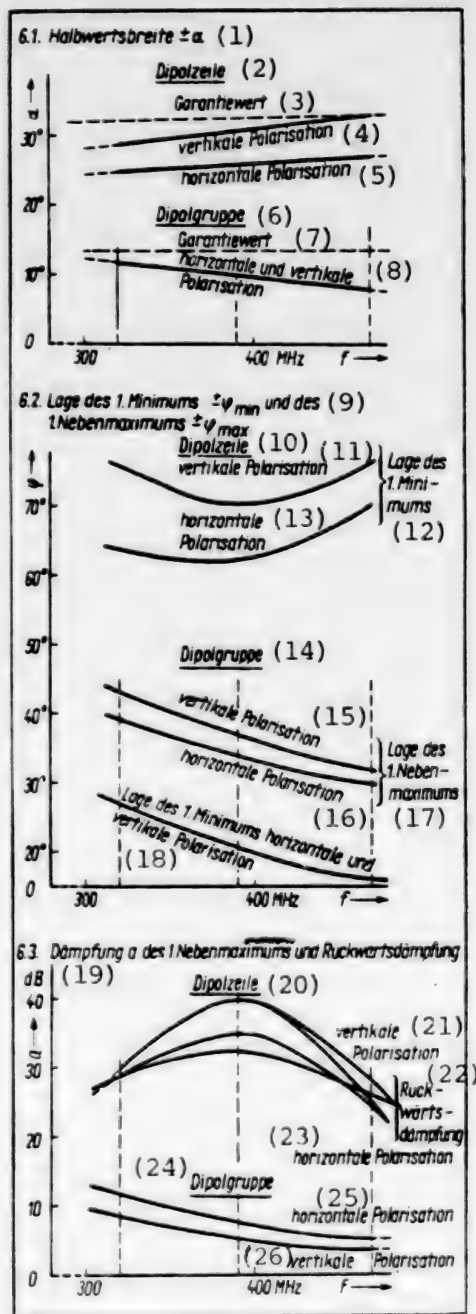
Minimum distance from one another	2 m
Minimum distance above ground	10 m
Angle with respect to one another	Arbitrary

With two antennas on different masts

Minimum distance from one another	4 m
Minimum distance above ground (or above the building)	5 m

Angle with respect to one another: The directions of radiation may not cross one another

Figure 6. Frequency dependence of selected parameters of the directional characteristics of a row of dipoles and of a dipole group for horizontal and vertical polarization.



- Key:
- 1 6.1 half width  $\pm\alpha$
  - 2 A row of dipoles
  - 3 Guaranteed value
  - 4 Vertical polarization
  - 5 Horizontal polarization
  - 6 Dipole group
  - 7 Guaranteed value
  - 8 Horizontal and vertical polarization
  - 9 6.2 position of the first minimum  $\pm\varphi_{\min}$  and of the first secondary maximum  $\pm\varphi_{\max}$
  - 10 Row of dipoles
  - 11 Vertical polarization
  - 12 Position of the first minimum
  - 13 Horizontal polarization
  - 14 Dipole group
  - 15 Vertical polarization
  - 16 Horizontal polarization
  - 17 Position of the first secondary maximum
  - 18 Position of the first minimum, horizontal and vertical polarization
  - 19 6.3 attenuation A of the first secondary maximum and backwards attenuation
  - 20 A row of dipoles
  - 21 Vertical polarization
  - 22 Backwards attenuation
  - 23 Horizontal polarization
  - 24 Dipole group
  - 25 Horizontal polarization
  - 26 Vertical polarization

When selecting the erection site of antennas consisting of dipole groups, regard should be given to the following points, independent of the polarization:

A spherical space of at least 2 m should be completely open about the mounting point of the antennas.

Electrically conducting objects which are not part of the antenna system should be at least 4 m distant from the mounting point of the antenna.

In the main radiation direction of the antenna, a cone-shaped space with an opening angle of at least 60 degrees should be completely open up to a distance of 30 m.

If these conditions cannot be met, one must expect a lesser decoupling between the antennas. This can be compensated only if the effective selection damping of the radio link device is increased. This means that the frequency interval of the RF channels used at this operating site must be greater than their minimum frequency interval (see 2.4.).

If only rows of dipoles are operated under the same set of conditions as for the dipole groups, their considerably wider main radiation lobe will cause lesser decoupling. Moreover, such an application is generally considered only as a temporary variant in case of a catastrophe, however, where the reduction must be accepted.

When the two rows of dipoles are used separately in their joint antenna support of one dipole group, their distance from one another is fixed. This implies that the decoupling between the two rows of dipoles in this case will be about 15 dB less than between two dipole groups under the above mentioned set-up conditions. Thus such an application is reasonable only in case of a catastrophe or in the case of short radio fields in 1+1 operation, when the transmission power and the useful signal reception level for the operating and reserve unit can be presupposed as equal.

#### 2.1.5. Electrical Influence of Frost Deposits

Reference (8) reports in detail on studies concerning the influence of frost deposits on the electrical properties of antennas. Accordingly, according to the operative principle of the logarithmic-periodic antenna, the influence of frost deposits under the climatological conditions occurring in the GDR is quite small. Where frost deposits up to 5 mm or icing up to 1 mm, the gain will not be reduced. With heavier deposits, one can expect the maximum gain reduction of 2 dB. This holds both for the row of dipoles and for the dipole group.

A critical situation occurs only if the two rows of dipoles within one dipole group ice up unevenly. This changes the main radiation direction. But this can be expected at most during thaws and even then only for a short time.



Continuation follows

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8348

CSO:2300/96

## OPPOSITION ACCUSED OF EXPLOITING PRIEST'S MURDER

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27-28 Oct 84 pp 1, 9

/Article: "Against Provocation"/

/Text/ The crime of which Father Jerzy Popieluszko is a victim has elicited a uniform reaction: indignation and condemnation. There were no differences here: this was the reaction of the entire public, the party, the government and the church.

The perpetrators were uncovered and apprehended. The powers of the PRL have declared with full force that the guilty will pay the severest penalty, that the whole truth about their deed and its motives will be uncovered to the last inch and made public. This is necessary in the name of truth and justice but also because Poland cannot and will not become the abode of political banditry. It is a question of eradicating the germ of terrorism so that Poland will not find itself among those countries where terrorism is a plague. Our country will remain a place where it is safe to live.

Already people who thrive on tragedy have appeared. They recognized this as an unusual chance for emerging from the shadows; they wish to recoup their political losses, and are trying to gain something. One gets the impression that they are camouflaging joy under their weeds.

It has not yet been made clear who kidnapped and possibly also killed Father Popieluszko and with what motives, but who is profiting from this drama politically and with what aim is already clear.

The point is to disturb the peace in Poland.

The point is to break off the beginning of the process of normalizing relations between Poland and the West.

The point is to stir up the government and the church at any price, to force a conflict.

Under the guise of concern about Father Popieluszko, in Warsaw a structure is being organized in Zoliborz and people are occupying a part of the room of the rectory of the church of St Stanislaw Kostka, despite the stand of the proper

church authorities. It has been overrun in large numbers by veterans of confrontational action, specialists in inciting brawls, masters of provocation: Jaworski, Kuron, Wujec, Romaszewski, Onyszkiewicz.

There is a desire to exploit public indignation, to assemble at Zoliborz the maximum number of people so as to instigate them and instill hatred in them. There is a call to strike in Huta Warszawa, as if strikes and unrest were precisely what Poland most needs nowadays, as if a strike could restore freedom or life to the kidnapped priest.

The kidnapping of Father Popieluszko was a political provocation. Currently another political provocation is being mounted, a whole series of provocations. It is aiming for street riots. Veteran opponents of stabilization and agreement are anxious to bring things to a clash at all costs. That is nonsense. The kidnappers are under arrest. The search for the priest continues day and night without respite all over the great expanse of our country. Thousands of government employees are directly participating in it. The strike is supposed to continue, as the appeal broadcast by Radio Free Europe announces, until Father Popieluszko is set free. Again, this is simply nonsense. Finding Father Popieluszko is a matter of concern not for the troublemakers, but above all for the government. No one in Poland or in the whole world believes the suggestion that the government has imprisoned him and is holding him.

Thriving on tragedy is vile. The attempt to create a spectacle out of Poland for the entire civilized world leads to a complete atrophy of patriotism. It falls in with the traditional Polish tolerance for citing appalling, ostensibly religious texts proclaiming collective responsibility for a specific act by specific individuals. It is said that all the nonbelievers are responsible for this kidnapping. Stirring up religious fanaticism by such methods compromises us in the eyes of the world.

In the name of what is the political brigandry of the perpetrators of Father Popieluszko's abduction to give occasion to the next political provocateurs?

Political provocations attempting to profit from the public commotion over the tragedy of the Zoliborz priest are dangerous. They can only lead to conflicts and clashes, to a disruption of peace in Poland. The government will ensure national peace. The only question is, will it be necessary once again to pay a high price for this peace?

12584

CSO: 2600/117

## CONSISTENT IDEAS, CONVICTIONS ABSENT IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 84 pp 90-97

[Article by Tadeusz Holuj, Janusz Janicki and Edward Erazmus: "To Speak Differently About the Party"]

[Text] Tadeusz Holuj

The party is the political organization of the working class. This is what we most often read and hear. It has struck the deepest roots in our editorial writing and oratory. However, our party is a communist party, or a Marxist-Leninist party, as we put it somewhat modestly, and Marxism-Leninism is not only a political movement but above all an ideology. This we do say, but only "on the whole". It is on the whole governed by the principles of communist ideology, a materialistic world view and on the whole implements its ideology by means of policy adapted to concrete historical conditions. However, what do we mean by "on the whole"? The assumption is that the ideology is made up of "parts", individuals, groups and communities that in some way differ from the whole and diverge from the norms of the whole. This is, after all, the nature of life itself and even political unity in such separateness of action does not, for example, exclude differences in world views and awareness in a mass political party. However, this may not be a passive arrangement in the sense that these parts coexist and cooperate on principles of equality and loyalty to political goals. This is simply impossible. It can and does lead to conflicts of conscience especially in any situation in which party members, in accordance with principles of democratic centralism, undertake some joint action without any ideological agreement among themselves while, in accordance with the party charter, maintaining their own particular opinions. This brings up the non-scholastic question of how we are to represent the ideological community of party cells in which there is a different proportion of people representing the ideology of the whole and those who either do not accept the ideology as a whole or do not know it but still meet all the other statutory conditions of membership, including the political.

The main principle of communist organization is ideological community based on a common ideology, a community of convictions. We know that that the party accepts every qualified adult who agrees with its program and wants to realize that program. However, agreement with the program does not mean identification with it. Well, no one is born a communist. People of different backgrounds,

generations, class traditions and world views come to the party. However, people come not to the party in general but to its organization. They find in the party an "arrangement of forces" and different degrees of conscious participation. This organization is supposed to make communists of them, not in the subjective, but rather the objective sense of the term. How is this to be done when the level of participation is bad? Who is going to bring this ideological awareness and knowledge into the party organism? Someone has said that we indeed are working in this direction. Lectures, conferences, symposia and plenums all involve ideological subjects. This true, but in the enormous majority of instances, this is a form of training activity which is reluctantly accepted from outside. Too often, the organizers and party instances feel that that party members are totally committed and knowledgeable and that they must simply learn to "forge their ideas into deeds". Independent learning and training has died completely and the historical necessities requiring the mobilization of forces often just for actions outside of the party have weakened the work within the party, most of all in the basic party organizations. In this regard, the situation in the basic organizations may take three forms. The basic party organizations may include comrades with authority, convinced communists able to affect the others by their personal example and knowledge. These individuals may improve the overall level of ideological cohesion and conviction. They may take a passive role and limit themselves to purely pragmatic coordination of actions and at the same time look for search for contacts with similar persons outside of their own particular organization. The third possible situation is that there may not in general exist any sense of organization and that the above-mentioned types dominate the other, but this is rarity even in intellectual organizations. In any case, we must consider the fact that there is a certain force of impotence in organizations in which the ideological factor is predominant.

I feel that the noticeable unwillingness to take up ideological problems has several causes but it seems that the very atmosphere that dominates organizations and the climate of meetings is immeasurable important. The basic party cells are made up of people that know each other that generally have the same experiences in life. These people work together but they seldom achieve a spiritual community. This is true even when they are united by a real and shared struggle, sincerity, friendship, concern for their fellow comrades and the need to be together in good and bad situations. All of these characteristics are necessary to raise the moral and psychological values of their party community and they alone make it possible to approach ideological problems as personal and shared problems. After all, ideology is, as we have already said, often a very intimate concern connected not only with theoretical knowledge but also with personal experiences. Ideology is a matter of personal reflection which can only be brought out into the open in the conviction that we are among our own people, people that are close to us.

I do not wish to advocate any transformation of the party into some kind of religious or philosophical community or to discourage the undertaking of practical political and social activities. I only feel that their effectiveness is directly proportional to the true level at which convictions are shared in the party, to the ideological bonds and ideological clarity. This is because they give real strength to deal with the present and a vision



of the world in which we not only live but that we also work together to create, a sense of life.

Janusz Janicki

I totally share Tadeusz Holuj's concern for the ideological conditions of the party, the generally internalized knowledge of the ideological foundations of the party's program and the intellectual unity of its members. We know that the actual state of these affairs still leaves much to be desired. The unquestionable rebirth of the party after the deep crisis that we recently experienced has most gradually and with the most difficulty taken place in the very realm of ideology.

What must be done to change this state of affairs? How can we more quickly strengthen the party as an ideological and political organism, not only on a larger scale but in all of its different echelons and especially the basic party organizations? The Thirteenth Plenum (which, as we may recall, is the first one held since 1963 that was dedicated in its entirety to ideological problems) outlined a program to ideologically invigorate the party. The central party authorities and some of the territorial organizations (not all of them unfortunately) are much interested in this problem and they have expressed their concern in practical activity. We must, therefore, systematically and patiently work to realize this program. We must be totally aware of the inertia born of so many years in which ideological work was neglected and given rubber-stamp treatment or disregarded in many party cells.

Of course, a formal approach to this problem will not bring any results. What is necessary is inventiveness, dynamism, innovation and a continuous effort to find new solutions that might bring new substance into the program to intensify the ideological life of the party. This is true but all such actions must nonetheless be centered around some lasting "philosophy of action".

I therefore feel that the most important approach is to consider this problem in close connection with other areas of party activity. It is untrue that political and social actions and ideology are separate concerns. We must give equal attention to both of these mainstreams and take care that neither take precedence over the other. We must see that these two elements stand in close relation to one another. Good ideological conditions determine the quality of political actions and political actions determine the ideological conditions. Therefore, the "spirit of community" mentioned by Tadeusz Holuj, can only be created in practical activity, in struggle and in the realization of shared goals but under the condition that the common experiences gained in this way find their intellectual framework in the form of ideological knowledge and be subjected to ideological interpretation. This is the only way that the party organization can become a unified "ideological and political organism".

No less important is an awareness of the need to organize activity to realize these goals. We are a party of the masses and this is what determines the nature of the mechanisms of life within the party. Inspiration is not enough nor is it sufficient to create conditions in which the spontaneous activity of individuals is made possible. In a party of the masses, every action must be

put down in solid organization structure and conceived, in the good sense of the word, within a formal framework subordinate to the rules and regulations of the party charter. In a word, activity must be organized.

Let us take ideological training as our example. Unquestionably, the present system must be improved and there is a possibility that it will need to be changed in the future as well (the results of this work always tend to be unsatisfactory). One thing is beyond doubt: we cannot give up training activities in discussion groups adapting a unified training program. This "activity from outside" may but does not have to be "schooling" or an ossified form of communicating simplified knowledge. There is also room for creative invention, emotional engagement and argument. Everything depends on whether this will be done.

Self-study is unquestionably an invaluable means by which the ideological level of party members can be improved but it is not something that we can rely upon exclusively. Its role may be decisive in cadre organization consisting of persons with an uncommonly well-developed need to ideologically rebuild their political choices. We are a party which must not only be concerned with enriching the ideological and political knowledge of its members. We must also give most of our members a need for such knowledge.

This work must certainly be done by enriching the intellectual content of ideology, by arousing the intellectual activeness of persons studying the party ideology and encouraging their interest. Self-study may take a very important role. This success of this work does, however, depend upon good organization and structure, the right form of training, well planned and scheduled classes, an effective system of control and clearly-defined requirements, including those of a formal nature. The effectiveness of ideological training may only be enhanced by concern for its intellectual cohesion and by good organization work.

I do not want to make a fetish of organization. After all, there have been excellent forms of organization that were totally devoid of substance and unable to serve their intended goals. There is a real danger in organization work of losing sight of the original goals and organizing everything for the mere sake of better organization. However, the functioning of such a large organism as a party of two million governing a country must be subjected to the rigors of good organization, even in its most intellectual activities.

Edward Erazmus

I read T. Holuj's article "Speaking Differently About of Party" with great interest. It reflected great concern over the state of the party and its communist identity. However, it did seem to me that this barrier cannot be immediately overcome and that ideology has been and is separated from instrumental goals, forms and methods of governance. In other words, instrumental goals have begun displace ideological values. T. Holuj has pointed this out and provided a valuable signal. He has inspired thought, encouraged discussion and reflection over the range and functioning of the theoretical system collective party thinking on the whole in its individual

parts. The author's observations are accurate. They point out several shortcomings and mobilize us to properly arrange the proportions between the ideological and political substance, between the instrumental goals and the functional ones creating a Marxist ideology. His remarks also point out that this has often led to blurring of the boundaries between ideology and politics, between strategy and the tactics that are given form within the party's programs. This has also brought about the underestimation of the value of politics, the theory of revolution, class struggle and the strategy for the building of socialism. A discussion of this problem should consider both dangers.

While reading this interesting article, some critical observations came to mind. The remarks, however impassioned, are not original. There can be found in literature many such reflections. This is advice how and why it is necessary in just this way for the PZPR to recover its ideological identity by other means than member self-study alone. The PZPR must strengthen its communist character.. However, when we call it a Marxist-Leninist party, that does not mean that we want to hide or obscure the image of a communist party. The character of the new type of party does not depend on what it is called. In turn, a name does not merely imply the political or ideological direction of the party's thinking and actions. Marxism-Leninism is not only a theory of revolution but a specific means of building socialism. The party is an organism both politically and ideologically as well as organizationally. If these connections are broken, we will be led astray. In reading T. Holuj's text, I found his motives and themes rather familiar. I think that his intention was to warn theorists and practitioners against overemphasis of the party's political and organizational aspects. At the same time, the party is an ideological, political and organizational community alike whenever its members strive to make it so. It forms a community whenever it is closely allied to the working class. Without this unity, there can be no party of the new type.

There is no sharp-defined boundary between ideology and politics. The party, on the one hand, "implements its ideological goals through a policy which is adapted to concrete historical conditions" and, on the other hand, the specific substance of policy determines the actual conditions under which the party must act. This is a reciprocal process. Furthermore, the party would be unable to realize its ideological and political goals if its members were not at least loyal to those goals, under the condition, of course, that the party politicians respect the principles and values of Marxism. This is the elementary condition for the existence of the new type of party and for all political actions. A Marxist-Leninist party requires "commitment, sacrifice and readiness to realize ideological principles", formulated not only in theoretical works but also in ideological declarations and the party charter. It seems to me that the essence of the problem lies in the fact that certain parts of the party have coexisted and "...cooperated with one another on principles of equality but without the needed loyalty to political goals". The true nature of the problem is expressed in a proper mechanism of identification of the world view and thinking of party members with the political thought of the party itself as a set of statements formulated by the party to describe reality, goals and the means to realize them.

Not only ideology creates community within the party but policy and practice as well. Political thought becomes an integral part of the awareness of party members to the extent that, on one hand, it reflects the collective thinking of the working class and its party while on the other hand, it is in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the principle of the new type of party. It will not become the outlook of the members if it reflects only one side of reality or the "golden" ideas of certain famous persons or the leadership who nevertheless ignore the supreme principles of Marxism or mystify reality. It is therefore worthwhile to speak not only of the party's ideological community but also of the resulting political community. We must also keep in mind the question of whose ideas are the party's ideas? Which ideological statements are the ideological thinking of the whole party? Which of the leaders' views are of value with regard to their contribution to the overall theory of Marxism and the party policy? Which of these are just personal opinions? The party leaders also make a great contribution to the development of ideology and political ideology. Our party has, after all, many encouraging examples of this. For that reason, I would not separate ideology from politics and the party's responsibility to adapt Marxist theory to Polish social conditions from its obligations to apply these principles to its social practices. The same responsibilities apply to party organizations and party members, from top to bottom. Party thinking becomes ossified whenever the members of the basic party organizations or those organizations themselves give up any efforts to theorize or to generalize their own experiences. The ideological activeness of party members and organizations, the development of theoretical discussion and constant confrontation of theory with practice create the prerequisites for a strengthening of the party's ideological and political cohesion.

The ideological function of the party embraces all of those elements that are inherently and functionally a part of the Marxist theory of social development, the theory of socialist revolution and the results of the specification and adjustment of the universal characteristics of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of Polish society and government.

The highest echelons of the party, congresses, the leadership, scholars and famous practitioners jointly create and interpret the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The working class must also take part in this process. Understood in this way, the party's ideological function is of the greatest practical importance. The party is supposed to develop the theory of socialist construction in Poland and to give concrete form to the achievement of other communist parties. This is an important theoretical level of ideological community. A lack of such community among theoreticians can have serious consequences which may come to be felt in the awareness of the working masses. If there is no unity among the creators of theory, there will be none among the party membership and even less in the working class.

The party's ideological activity has still other dimensions and this consists of ideological education, training and member shaping. This aspect of party functioning is not the same as its theoretical function because it concerns the party's responsibility to educate working people and to introduce Marxist-Leninist theory to the thinking of the party membership which passes it in turn to the working class. In this sense, the didactic role of ideology is



something secondary in relation to ideological activity, which is understood as the creation of a theory of the building of socialism in Poland or as the ordering by theorists, political leaders and writers of ideas and views into one theoretical system. T. Holuj is right when he says that there are many gaps in the theoretical functioning of ideological education and training activities. There are discrepancies in the connection that the ideology has with the whole party and particular elements within it. This has reduced the ideological substance of the awareness of party members. This ossification of thinking causes a loosening of ideological bonds. This is a theoretical and practical problem. Without any ideological substance in the party, it is hard to speak of any ideological community. We also cannot lose sight of the social sources of party disintegration. The PZPR functions in a society divided into classes. The economy is characterized by a complex structure of ownership which includes a dynamically functioning petty-capitalist method of production. The counterpart to this is the classes and social or professional groups. They all have their own interests and they also strive for to embed themselves in party activity. Their representatives directly or indirectly bring into the party their own views and reasons. All of this complicates the functioning of ideology and the process of bringing it to the awareness of new members.

At the same time, the party has noticed a certain trend toward ideological comfort. It is being attempted to make training texts easy to read and simplified so that particular thematic blocks contain political thoughts that are easy to remember and repeat at meetings. This is being done at the expense of real thought about the shape of the country, the world, concrete reality, phenomena, processes and conflicts. This is even replacing the study of PZPR documents and the resolutions of congresses and plenums. This pressure is having its effect at centers responsible for ideological activity such as training. Rather widespread is the belief that party members should be given easy material, as though Marxism-Leninism as a science were something easy to learn, something that can be mastered both theoretically and practically without any effort. Marxism is repeatedly treated as a tool for shaping the awareness, something whose ultimate goal is only to shape views rather than any readiness to change reality. There is nothing strange in the fact that increasingly less is being said about self-education and study and more is said about training, teaching, learning, brochures, easy texts and didactic techniques. It is worth adding that the achievements in this area have been small. There has even been a certain amount of regression.

Frequently, the awareness of party members is also identified with ideology or ideology is identified with knowledge on a given topic. Such an interpretation brings about a restriction of the party's ideological function and Marxism therefore becomes regarded as a subject of learning. In such an approach, facts and specific information take on greater importance at the expense of theoretical foundations and the rousing of ambition to find contradictions and solve conflicts on all levels of politics.

Ideological community is not only verbal approval of Marxist values nor agreement as to the realization of goals or even agreement that socialism has its discrepancies. Ideological community is expressed in action and in the lasting conviction of party members and leaders of all levels on



responsibility for the preparation of members to act on behalf of socialism and to transform reality. This is also expressed in the conviction that, on the one hand, the party and therefore each party member as well is the educator of the working class and, on the other hand, that the working class, in giving its approval of the fundamental values of Marxism, has an influence on the activities of the party. Thus, "... a noticeable unwillingness to become involved with ideological problems is really a result of the fact that there is no atmosphere of encouragement to do so". The word "atmosphere" has no substantial form and it is therefore hard to decipher the entirety of inferences. Even if we accept this, it still seems that there is a lack of something more than an atmosphere of encouragement, namely a lack of readiness to perceive conflicts of interest in the activity of party members and organizations or to search for the social and not only the psychological sources of interpersonal conflicts, particularly in cases in which it is necessary to make a choice between particular interests or personal interests and those of the party or the entire working class. Political and social differences are usually found to be behind these debates and quarrels.

The ruling party must often deal with conflicts in the roles of its members. We have already known conflicts in the roles of persons functioning in the leadership and in state or economic administration. These conflicts manifest themselves in inner disharmony between the role that should be taken by a party member and that which he should take as a leader empowered to reward, assess, honor, etc. If this is the case, then, not to undervalue the importance of ideological community among party members, it is necessary, on one hand, to track down and overcome these conflicts and bring ideological and political knowledge to all echelons of the party and, on the other hand, and this is where T. Holuj is right, to track down and overcome conflicts between ideologically induced responsibilities and those that are the result of social conditions. The responsibilities of party regulations are also important here, all the more so as they are do always agree with the views of individual members and their customs, habits, routine, etc. These must, however, be respected and realized. Without conflict, there can be no politics. That is the nature of political life. It is bad for conflict alone or even unity to become the absolute factors of the political process. I speak of this in order to think about how these disharmonies can be solved in accordance with the party's ideological principles.

From our experience, we know that in any neglected conflict, the duties issuing from particular interests often gain the upper hand. Experience has also shown us that some party members constantly declare their commitment to Leninist principles while their real actions are governed by personal concerns. This means that an ideological community is important but it is not the only factor that can strengthen the party. It is not the values alone that shape the party but political practice as well. What is necessary are the type of party activities that are accompanied by party and working class control. What I am referring to is the need to constantly check whether declared views keep step with actual practice. Ideological community becomes a physical force whenever it has an organizational and political framework.

It is not my intention here to call into question the importance of study,

training, symposia, etc., in the creation of an ideological community in the basic echelons of the party such as the party leaders and organizations, its apparatus or instances. These are the elementary conditions that allow the party to exist and act effectively. What I am calling for is an intensification of the system of self-study since this will yield the most appropriate process by which the party's ideological and political substance can be internalized and transformed into a sense of conviction.

Thus, the problem called to mind by T. Holuj is of prime importance to the party. Much greater effort and time should be devoted to this and we should try to avoid any more simplifications.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I agree that we must speak and write differently about the party, but no differently than did the classic writers and continuers of Marxism. We must work differently, organize the party differently and differently shape attitudes. Society is changing, the working class is changing and the party itself is changing. The point of concern is whether all of these changes are in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the development and functioning of the party in a society building socialism. Speaking differently about the party, we do not always speak the same way as its creators nor do we always interpret properly, precisely, comprehensively and exhaustively. This does not mean that there is no sense in any new ideas or reflection but just the opposite, that these reflections are essential, even if they are concentrated on only one important aspect. This is how I understand T. Holuj's intentions. We cannot restrict the meaning of the party to an ideological community of its individual cells which is only the product, as T. Holuj writes, of a common ideology because a single principle of communist organization does not constitute ideological community.

No greater means of strengthening the party is found than in the party itself. By this I mean the principles of its structure and functioning, the relationships between members and the authorities, between the party apparatus and organization, the relationships within the party leadership and not only on the central level, but in all of the decision-making echelons. To use T. Holuj's words, there must be a proper functioning of the parts within the "whole" and of the "whole" within society and the state. Why must I point out these obvious principles?

Because the author was guided in his text by concern for the ideological state of the party, he has reduced the principle of communist organization to ideological community based on shared ideology. I share T. Holuj's view that the party is responsible for the presence in its organization and in the awareness of the working class of an ideological substance, all the more so as socialist awareness is the direct consequence of the conditions of socialist life. S. Rainko is right in saying that it is a dangerous situation for the party to lose interest in ideological thought and its presence in the institutions of the party, not to mention consent to broaden the fiction of exemplary existences.

It is only in this context that we can and must speak of educating party members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and to introduce ideological

awareness, as T. Holuj says, "from outside" to the working class. We can only speak of proper self-study and party training in the context of the unity of theoretical activity with practical activity. Forging ideas into deeds is one side of the problem. The other side is to reforge deeds into ideas. Both can be realized by mobilizing the parties forces within and without.

12261

CSO: 2600/265

## PROLIFERATION OF LAWS ANALYZED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Oct 84 pp 1,2

[Text] The Commission for Legislation and Law and Order of the National Council of PRON [The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], chaired by Zndrzej Elbanowski, was occupied this time with the legislative policy of our country and the conclusions resulting from it for the PRON.

The following theorists and practitioners, among others, were invited to the meeting of the commission: Deputy Prosecutor General Gen Jozef Szewczyk; Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Gen Konrad Straszewski; Vice Minister of Justice Jan Brol; Vice Chairman of the High Court of Administration Jerzy Swiatkiewicz; Prof Kazimierz Siarkiewicz; the director of the Legal Department of the Office of the Council of Ministers, Ryszard Tupin; the secretary of the Legislative Council, Bohdan Zdziennicki; the chairman of the Council of the Bar, Maria Bodzanowska; the chairman of the Main Board of the Association of Polish Lawyers, Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki.

The discussion began with introductory remarks presented by Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki and continued primarily on the question of whether or not we are being faced with a proliferation of laws. Quoteworthy here are certain pronouncements: ... "Our legislation is afflicted with a certain disease--the proliferation of laws... The contemporary legislation of many European countries suffers from a proliferation of laws. There are many reasons for this: the economic crisis, relativism of legal and moral notions, increasing interference by the state in social and private relations, expansion of administrative law--all of these causes produce a multiplicity of legislative acts. Besides these causes, however, there are also additional ones, such as a predominant conviction among us that the laws are a panacea for various social ills."

The quotation dates from ... 1939. It was a statement by Deputy Szczepanski at the Sejm session held in the first quarter of 1939 during a debate on the state budget, on the part concerning the administration of justice. Thus, there is nothing new under the sun. Today we also hear charges that the Sejm passes too many laws (156 over 4 years), that legislative fever continues, that the laws being enacted are of doubtful quality so that after a couple of months they must be amended, etc. The present legislative policy was defended by Vice Minister of Justice Jan Brol. He recalled that in the

1960's Poland was governed by 90,000 various regulations, circulars, etc., which was called copy machine law. In 1980 they numbered only 11,000, and this year only 8,000. Thousands of regulations, orders, circulars, that is, the so-called laws, were replaced by 156 acts of the Sejm. The reforming of our economic, social, and political life required the enacting of many new legal regulations. Therefore, suggested Vice Minister Brol, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth could take up the subject of the perception of new legal solutions and acceptance of the legislative policy, as well as the respect for law.

Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki has stressed the following conclusions: the point is to create conditions for the observance of the law as well as the adaptation of law to real social conditions, and also to create a system for early warning about nonobservance of the law.

One of the members of the Commission for Legislation and Law and Order, Jacek Denkwicz from Katowice, has added to this package three more suggestions: the law should be stable, for only such a law can be respected; society should have an influence on the content and form of the law being enacted; and finally, the law should be equal for one and all without exception.

1015

CSO: 2600/118



EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR PZPR CADRE OUTLINES

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY in Polish No 37, 13-19 Sep 84 pp 3-7

[Article by Janusz Wleickowski: "The New Year of Party Indoctrination"]

[Text] On 6 September the Szczecin party organization inaugurated the new year of party indoctrination which, in accordance with the recommendations of the Central Committee Secretariat, will take place in all party cells and organizations in September and October. The main thrust of the sessions opening party indoctrination will be discussion on the country's current sociopolitical and economic situation, while opening lectures will concentrate on the substance of the declaration, "What we are striving for, where we are going?"

The inaugural meetings are also an opportunity for a working exchange of opinions and experiences regarding the means of fulfilling the program of indoctrination in the party.

What are the main goals and tasks of indoctrinational work this year?

It is well known that the party's struggle for broadening and strengthening social confidence in its program and organizational activity is still taking place under conditions of sharp ideological confrontation. Party indoctrination should enhance political and ideological knowledge, expand competence in political work by PZPR members and shape their personal attitudes so that they might extend their influence on the environment and achieve strong and lasting support for the party's policies.

Therefore a party member, finding himself in ordinary, often difficult situations, must have at his command appropriate ideological and political knowledge, convincing arguments and skill in applying them. Party training should assist him in this, promote assimilation of the party's ideological principles, teach independent evaluation of events in social and political life and develop competence in the political struggle.

Party indoctrination subject to these goals should be a matter for the entire party, a subject of concern for all party organizations and cells. This is all the more important since there can still be observed in parts of party organizations and cells a misunderstanding and underestimation of the role and function of party indoctrination, the result of which is a gap in the level of indoctrination and its inferior effectiveness.

What will be the substance of intraparty ideological work in this year's indoctrination?

### Ideological Sessions

In accordance with the resolution of the Central Committee Secretariat of 16 May 1984, all party cells and organizations are obligated to undertake planned and well-organized activities toward full and systematic achievement of the indoctrination program. Ideological sessions are the basic form of indoctrination. In light of current experiences evaluated by the Central Committee Secretariat and executives boards of the provincial committees, one can say that the principle of ideological sessions has met with party acceptance. During this year the attention of the organizers of the training should be focused on the problem of improving its quality.

The recommended set of 12 topics from the series "Crucial issues in the program and policies of the PZPR" will be the subject of ideological sessions of the basic party organizations [POP's]. It includes the following topics:

- the declaration of the PZPR's National Delegate Conference, "What we are striving for, where we are going?";
- the people's councils and their role in the PRL's political system;
- the antinational and anticommunist operations of the political underground in Poland;
- the relationship of the PZPR to the church and religion;
- administrative conservation--a condition of economic development and raising the nation's standard of living;
- the general correctness of and national conditions for the building of socialism in Poland;
- the policies of the United States, its imperialist goals and neocolonial tactics--a threat to world peace;
- the Polish-Soviet alliance--the guarantee of independence, the basis of Poland's strength and development;
- the political and professional activity of party members in achieving a line of understanding, struggle and socialist reforms as the basis of strengthening the leading role of the PZPR;
- the traditions and contemporary substance of the worker-peasant alliance;
- victory over fascism--the foundation of 40 years of peace;
- the Leninist notion of worker-peasant control and its fulfillment in People's Poland.

Of the foregoing topics, in each of the basic party organizations at least six should be discussed at indoctrination sessions. Their selection and scope and the means of conducting the sessions should be adapted to the specifications of a particular unit. All POP's are required to take the four following subjects under consideration:

--the declaration of the PZPR's National Delegate Conference, "What we are striving for, where we are going?" (October 1984);

--administration conservation--a condition of economic development and raising the nation's standard of living (January 1985);

--the political and professional activity of party members in achieving a line of understanding, struggle and socialist reforms as the basis of strengthening the leading role of the PZPR (March 1985);

--the traditions and contemporary substance of the worker-peasant alliance (May 1985).

The establishment of dates for the sessions on the four obligatory topics has been introduced for the first time, since this is tied to the preparation of appropriate supplementary materials. Normally these will be inserts in TRYBUNA LUDU containing essays on a very popular level, brochures designed for instructors and articles included in IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA. Another supplement will be seminars organized in the Center for Party Study Courses (for provincial committee students) and in local units of the regional centers for party work (for instructors).

#### Community

The generally binding program of ideological meetings of the POP's has been augmented with additional theoretical proposals for these communities: teachers, employees of higher schools and institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] cultural employees, journalists. For the village POP's the supplementary matters to be considered at joint meetings with units of the United Peasant Party will be announced at a later date.

In the teachers community the following additional subjects will be discussed:

--the worker and peasant struggle for social and national liberation as a basis for shaping historical consciousness in children and youth in the didactic-educational process;

--the practical ideological struggle for shaping a scientific world view;

--the individual and his rights and responsibilities to society and the socialist nation.

In the community of employees of higher schools and institutes of PAN:

--the role of academic self-government in consolidating the socialist nature of higher education;

--the origin, position and role of the intelligentsia in socialist society;

--problems of development and research in light of preparations for the Third Congress of Polish Sciences.

In the community of cultural workers:

--assumptions and principles of socialist cultural policies--issues of the substance and style of national culture;

--the development of culture under conditions of economic reform;

--ideological confrontation in the realm of culture and the methods and mechanism of imperialist institutions of ideological subversion.

The party organizations of particular communities have the ability to construct a program of indoctrination based on topics from the cycle "Crucial issues in the program and policies of the PZPR" and topics of interest to the community. The Central Committee departments of science and education, culture, agriculture, press, radio and television--in conjunction with the Ideological Department--are preparing appropriate materials for conducting these sessions.

#### Candidate Indoctrination

This year a marked increase occurred in the number of candidates accepted into party ranks. This means, among other things, increased responsibilities in the realm of enabling them to obtain knowledge about our party, the principles of its program and organization, and its traditions. The program of indoctrination comprising the 2-year candidacy period has not undergone any change. In the course of the indoctrination year, a handbook for candidates that contains an essential compendium of information about the party will be published.

The directions of the Central Committee Secretariat of May 1984 accent very strongly the need to make significant progress in the work with party candidates. The point is for candidates to gain not only appropriate ideological knowledge but also the ability to apply it in everyday situations.

Party cells are obligated to take on the process of indoctrinating all candidates. Last year's experience shows that this has not yet occurred everywhere. The program of indoctrinating candidates should include ideological principles and policy assumptions of the PZPR party regulations, Leninist standards of party life and the basic elements of the history of the Polish worker movement. Indoctrination activities--mainly via the study course system--should be organized on the basis of basic echelons or the Center for Party Work.

#### Schools for the Worker Aktiv

Considering the need for strengthening ideological influence on the working class and the experiences of many provincial organizations (such as in the provinces of Czestochowa, Opole and Szczecin), the Central Committee

Secretariat has recommended organizing in 1984--particularly in large plants--schools for the worker aktiv, which will be under the basic direction of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism [WUML]. Students at these schools should be young workers who have a following in their circles, party members as well as nonparty activists in youth organizations, trade unions and autonomous workers' units. Lessons in the schools will take place once a month. The program anticipates the discussion of five topics:

- the general correctness of and national conditions for the building of socialism in Poland;

- current issues in the class struggle in Poland and the world;

- the essence of the socialist community, its significance for Poland's security and development;

- fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings about the party; the leading role of the party in the building of socialism in Poland;

- the social teachings of the church, its stable and unstable elements.

Later the students will be able to choose one of three specialized cycles, also composed of five topics.

#### The Economic Cycle:

- the goals and strategy of economic development of the socialist state;

- the structure and principles of the workings of the socialist national economy;

- the performance of enterprises under conditions of economic reform;

- foreign trade--its role in economic development,

#### The Historical Cycle:

- patriotism and internationalism in the Polish worker movement;

- the Second Republic--facts and myths;

- the struggle of the Polish Left and the creation of a people's state;

- the traditions of the worker-peasant alliance in Poland;

- the development of democracy and forms of self-government in People's Poland.

#### The International Cycle:

- the world worker and communist movement in the 1980s;



--the policy of peaceful coexistence--disarmament activity of the Warsaw Pact nations;

--political confrontation in the West;

--the activation of revisionist and revanchist forces in West Germany--the threat to Poland and to world peace;

--truth and myth about Polish-Soviet relations.

The monthly IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, beginning with issue No 9 this year, will regularly print supplementary materials for conducting these courses.

#### Indoctrination of the Functional Aktiv

No changes are being made in the system of courses and self-education for the aktiv. Party cells should be concerned about including the entire party aktiv in it, assuring the aktiv of current information along with thorough theoretical reflection.

The WUML, also operating on unchanged principles, is earmarked for the functional aktiv, lecturers and instructors, managerial personnel and personnel reserves.

For first secretaries of the POP's and district party organizations, courses of several days' length will be organized by the provincial committees a minimum of twice a year. The subject of these courses will be, among other things, theoretical fundamentals of the building of socialism, the party program and means of fulfilling it, current sociopolitical problems of the nation and the organization and methodology of party operations. For newly elected secretaries of the POP's and district party organizations, immediate courses will be organized, mainly on the methodology of party operations.

Secretaries of factory committees will be included in seminars on the issues resulting from resolutions of party cells and issues of Marxism-Leninism.

The concern of provincial cells should be systematically to raise the level of these courses. On the other hand, party organizations must pay closer attention to making use of their knowledge and skill.

A particular means of perfecting the aktiv's ideological and political operations will be the ideological conferences of the provincial committees and basic level cells.

Aside from their participation in intraparty forms of indoctrination, all party activists will be included in the system of self-education, organized by provincial cells, based on the needs and abilities of the aktiv.

## Instructor Preparation

As usual, the instructors will determine the success of indoctrination to the greatest extent. The attraction and effectiveness of the indoctrination depends on their ability to make contact with the students, their choice of arguments and their language. Party cells were obligated, as part of the preparations for the new year of indoctrination, to evaluate instructional personnel and select new personnel according to the subject matter of indoctrination accepted by the POP's. The choice of a good instructor, who skillfully incorporates ideological and didactic values into his lectures is a very important thing.

It is no less important that the lecturer not be left alone in his work, even with the best auxiliary materials published centrally and by certain provincial centers for ideological indoctrination. The party cells, which best understand the instructor's role, see that he is able to obtain a variety of information and meet with the political and administrative leadership of his area and province. At such meetings, the instructors are able to relay directly the comments and opinions of their students and obtain authoritative interpretations of a number of matters along with information about future plans. The point is to disseminate these good experiences so that they become the standard operating procedure.

## Good Organization

The state of party indoctrination is the hallmark of party organization and reflects its leadership abilities in its own environment. That is why concern for party indoctrination is the duty not only for specialized branches of the party apparatus and ideological committees, but also all the cells and leaders of party organizations.

A condition of achieving the desired effect is good organization and regularity of indoctrination in all organizations. With the POP's rests the obligation to prepare a program of ideological sessions for the entire indoctrination year and to secure the means for its complete fulfillment.

Discussion on the subject of indoctrination cannot be linked to discussion on other matters foreseen on the agenda. Whenever possible, indoctrination sessions should be organized independently of satutory sessions, while indoctrination session should end with the adoption of definite goals for the POP and its members in political operations in its own environment.

One should also mention that the obligation of diligently studying the materials and an active posture in discussions during indoctrination sessions rests without exception with all members of the PZPR.

12776

CSO: 2600/167

PRESS POLEMICS OVER STATUS OF ENGINEERING PROFESSION

Tractors or Sputniks

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 31, 1 Aug 84 p 16

[Editorial by (211): "A Sad Lesson"]

[Text] On 19 July the tractor producing plants at Ursus in the vicinity of Warsaw, an immense industrial center so greatly significant to the Polish economy, solemnly observed an important event: production had begun on a new and modern M-F tractor, based on a British license, a tractor extremely and urgently essential to our economy.

A very important day; however...

There is only one "however." Should this day have been observed on a joyous note? Should this day not have been designated as a day of "a sad lesson for the future"? One should rejoice that the production of the Ferguson was finally launched; however, the fact that it was launched 10 years after work on it had been undertaken, that the launching of production lasted 10 years and that 6 years more will elapse before production reaches its full projected annual output, that it took so long, that it was conducted so unskillfully, that such disturbances and perturbations took place in conjunction with it, that this all was so typically uneconomically introduced, that it revealed so many errors and the helplessness of our economy, that the political disturbances of 1980 and 1981 cast such a severe shadow on it, that introductory procedures were interrupted--altogether this should show 19 July not as a factory success, but as a frightening example of our economy and our crisis. Perhaps of a past economy and a controlled crisis! In sum, however, this was no reason for sheer and beautiful joy, although it is well that the bloody Fergusons have finally been launched!

And in conclusion a question--perhaps vastly stupid and naive: is the production of a tractor truly something so complicated and tremendously difficult that our own engineers and builders could not have completely developed such a tractor in a few months on the basis of their own building technology? Why purchase foreign licenses? Is this a sputnik? For a tractor is indeed one of the more common machines in the service of man today!

The questions are perhaps those of a naive humanist. I would gladly welcome comments from our engineers on this subject.

### Engineers as 'Whipping Boys'

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 39, 23 Sep 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Donat Zatonski: "A Visit With the Humanists"]

[Text] "...and in conclusion a question--perhaps vastly stupid and naive: is the production of a tractor truly something so complicated and tremendously difficult that our own engineers and builders could not have completely developed such a tractor based on their own building technology in a few months? Why purchase foreign licenses? Is this a sputnik? For a tractor is indeed one of the more common machines in the service of men today! The questions are perhaps those of a naive humanist. I would gladly welcome comments from our engineers on this subject."

The "perhaps vastly stupid question" was raised on the last page of TU I TERAZ (No 31/84) by an author identifying himself as (211) in a note entitled "A Sad Lesson." It is said that there are no stupid questions. The author identifying himself as (211) can in advance count on forgiveness for his ignorance, because before he raised the question he beat his breast, acknowledging that he is a "naive humanist." In the history of our economy there have been many naive usurpers who have raised questions, but if they did, they did not wait for a reply.

I agree with (211) in one respect without reservation--the rousing welcome, bordering on success propaganda, accorded to the launching of the licensed M-F tractor in Ursus, is simply unfair.

"A sad lesson"--one wonders whom (211) had in mind. Last year I interviewed the chief designer of Polish farm tractors of the 1950's and 1960's, engineer Henryk Szczygiel. Excerpts from that interview were published in PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY (No 6/83). Engineer Szczygiel did not think as naively as (211); he knew and was certain that Ursus is close to the Polish production of a good line of tractors. He was obstinate and this obstinacy was stifled in him by effective methods. Since that time he taxes his brain with less ambitious assignments.

This is not the place to lecture on the subject of the complexity of tractor production and that in half a year nothing can be done here. However, it is necessary to remember that toward the end of the 1960's we maintained construction and technological offices at Ursus on a good level, an excellent cadre, and an annual production scale of 50,000 tractors of three manufactured types, which provided assurance of the high level of that plant. A line of Polish tractors was also planned. Ursus was faced with the opportunity of a lifetime--it provided the principal manufacturers of tractors with competition. In this situation there was virtually no firm in the world that would offer Ursus an attractive license on reasonable terms.



From 1971 to 1972, there was unanimity among Ursus management and specialists from the machine and agricultural branches as to the fate of the tractor industry. It was decided to develop domestic construction and increase the rate of production. I refer here to an excerpt from the interview with engineer Szczygiel:

"...Among our experts and colleagues from agriculture, the conviction then prevailed that we should not purchase licenses. Ursus did not notify the draft resolution of the 1971 Council of Ministers of such a need, and as a result the Ministry added it. Actually, as long as all efforts of Ursus management were directed at impressing upon highest state authorities the necessity for considerable outlays for the development of the tractor industry, Wrzaszczyk did not interfere at all. It was only when government decisions regarding the allocation of funds were made that the independence of Ursus was defeated.

"(...) In July 1972, at the request of the minister of finance at that time, Prof Fafara compiled a document in which he presented the advantages stemming from the development of a Polish line of tractors. The Ministry of the Machine Industry received a copy of this document. It was the wish of Deputy Minister Szotek that the Management of Ursus state its position in this matter. That is what happened--our reply supported the testimony of Prof Fafara in its entirety. It was not very appealing to the deputy minister and was sharply criticized and returned. The remarks made by Szotek on that occasion were also quickly circulated: 'Dung beetles shall not rule.' And that is how it remained. In ministerial corridors, industrial engineers were referred to as 'dung beetles'..."

If (211) from TU I TERAZ would really like to hear what engineers have to say on this subject--if they will want to comment--he should contact engineer Szczygiel and several others who were either compelled to adapt themselves to the sad reality of licensing or leave their posts.

There were periods when complete newspaper columns depicted the thorny road of Polish inventors. In this way the "green light" was shown to the creators of technology. Today we complain to the very end about the stupidity and helplessness of our engineers, who, as it appeared, through their laziness and ignorance reduced industry to its present status... Having been educated in increasingly numerous technical colleges bearing a high level of didactics with excellent research-laboratory facilities, in contact with prominent world technology, they today refuse to cooperate, helplessly folding their arms over the cemetery of machines. They have vegetable markets or business in second-hand clothing shops on their minds.

One week after (211) presented questions, coming as they did a dozen or so years too late, his editorial colleague, Rykowski, made several claims against the engineers in his column (TU I TERAZ No 32/84). I was so astonished and read the column three times to avoid making a mistake in assessing the author's intentions. I often eagerly read Rykowski because he ranks among the few who ostensibly understand the world of technology and technological advancement and who have regard for the usefulness and efficiency of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT]. In many instances I agree with Rykowski. It is of no consequence to him, because he does not know that I often read and support him, but I had the satisfaction of knowing that not everyone at TU I TERAZ asks naive questions.



The message in the column appears at its end. I shall quote an excerpt, trembling with anxiety as to whether I am mistaken about the author's intentions, whether this is indeed the message:

"...I get the impression that Polish engineering is governed by the idea of 'constantly improving' that which already exists. This thought does not create astounding unexpected ideas. It does not create anything hitherto nonexistent. The thought of our engineers does not control technological advancement; however, their thought is controlled by the advancement of technology. Advancement is created elsewhere and later supplied to us. With increasing delay..."

My impression is that the observations reflected in this excerpt are close to the truth. Even if that is so, charging the engineers exclusively for such a state of affairs is a demagogic cheap shot, as in this excerpt from the paragraph:

"...There are 350,000 engineers in Poland. Thus there is one engineer for a company of the adult population. We have many engineers but little engineering thought.

"Of course, I know that I am indebted to Polish engineers for the reputation of Polish building and mining machines, Polish ships and the newest small Polish plane. However, my contract with mining machines and ships is limited. On the other hand, those Polish products from material production which I do encounter have not undergone any changes for years, and they have not especially changed my life. Neither twist-off caps nor teflon was invented in Poland. Nothing was invented in Poland which could astound, create a revolution in some sphere of man's routine--even if it were a revolution in the making of preserves or the frying of beefsteak..."

The referenced question is compelling: Is there something? The point is whether I could surprise Rykowski with something or other. Personally, I would be most impressed by a revolution in the frying of beefsteak. I marvel at Rykowski's certainty that our engineers have not invented anything remarkable. On the other hand, I am not surprised that this "something" has not reached Rykowski, has not especially changed his life. What certainty does Mr Rykowski have that if Kowalski, and let us suppose he is an engineer, had invented the screw-off cap it would have revolutionized Rykowski's life? Without a government program? It is not necessary to invent cord for sheaf binding, and most likely the problem has already had a brush with a government program, and at harvest time we constantly hear the same.

I would not insult Mr Rykowski's intelligence if I were to apply a truism here, that from the first blush of inventive genius to the implementation of that idea the distance in Poland is remote, and thorns have already knocked obstinacy out of more than one head.

For several score years everything has been done here to sterilize constructive engineering thought. This is a cheap shot--to resort to twist-off caps and teflon. I will not even trouble myself to review the annals of PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY and extract from the past the hopeless battles over small and large inventions.

Officials on many levels were delighted with tactics and strategy in technological advancement created with careers and positions in mind, under unreal economic plans lasting a year or two. Here simulated work also acted as a substitute for good work.

On the enterprise level rationalization continued, encouraged by slogans. The bookkeeper provided greater guarantees than the patent office. Meager funds generated meager ideas. More and more meager... If it is not known how to enforce an area of responsibility for which wages are paid, then it is possible to take money the next time for a "rationalizing idea." From the moment when such practice becomes general, it is necessary to know how to make a diagnosis and counteract. With what? With the fragile plans of further undetermined technological advancement?

Tinkering in the name of rationalization--this is the sad reality of our technological advancement. However, engineers did not invent this, it was a consequence of life and unsuccessful economic plans. Technological advancement in Poland was so modulated by various plans that today I imagine no one will succeed in comprehending the sense of words referring to the means of their implementation. But why lay such sharp charges at the doorstep of the engineers?

Rykowski in one place in his column summarizes: "...There are certainly many reasons for the lack of engineering ideas. I imagine that one such reason is the lack of any conception of what an engineer should be. An engineering career is fulfilled here either through administrative-managerial promotion, or through an academic career, in which on successive levels there are successive theses regarding the work of the cogwheel..."

It is difficult to blame engineers if some of them do not invent a twist-off cap but rather a concept of who to be. From here we are already close to the sterilization of engineering thought. On the wave of criticism--obviously constructive, almost like Rykowski--I was compelled to listen to the following argument, which was delivered in a very serious tone and with conviction regarding its validity. Here it is: An engineer studies for a long time in order to have easy work later, but whoever has easy work should not insist on money. From here we approach now an example from life. An engineer received 22,000 zlotys for a machine project, but the worker who assembled its prototype received 49,000 zlotys. The one and the other worked for 1 month. Both were compensated in accordance with regulations.

Rykowski is mistaken when he states that there is a lack of comprehension as to what an engineer should be. Prof Janusz Tymowski more or less defines this:

"He is a man who prudently applies knowledge acquired during his course of studies in the spheres of mathematics and natural science, as well as from practical experience, to satisfy social needs, in the process of which he adopts appropriate means and measures of procedure in order to utilize the resources and forces of nature in an economic manner for the good of mankind." ("Problems of skilled cadres." Warsaw, Ossolineum 1982)

Now let Mr Rykowski carry the ball and find an idea: How and what to do so that an engineer can become an engineer and cease to be a whipping boy.

## SUPPORT FOR CREATION OF NEW TRADE UNION VOICED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 13 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by kod: "Integration, But What Kind?"]

[Text] "No one can unequivocally predict whether an unborn child will ultimately turn out to be good or bad." So stated Włodzimierz Lubanski, chairman of the Federation of Metalworkers Trade Unions during the press conference held last Saturday, 10 November 1984, during an ongoing series of conferences conducted by the preliminary planning group making preparations for nationwide trade union negotiation meetings. "So this is the manner in which we arrive at our agreements: first we spawn them and then bring them up to conform with our expectations. There seems to be no other way."

As it turns out, not all union members agree with this judgment. This was proven at the meeting of trade union activists in Katowice, at which they tried to achieve integration. Inconsistencies arguments were quite pronounced, with extremely diverse opinions being offered. Only one thing was basically agreed upon: the necessity to create a nationwide union representation. This is indicated by the urgent need to promote the implementation of the agreements formulated in Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie of August of 1980 and the need to create appropriate legal premises for the acquisition of all union assets. First of all, however, is the absolute necessity of arriving at a common position for regulating the general questions relating, for example, to an updating of the 1982 law on trade unions.

Similarly, agreement should be reached on the effect of this law regarding employees' self-government in state enterprises, working conditions, pay schedules, occupational health protection, vacations, social security fund, etc. Union members want to have their role at all group negotiations finally defined and to have the labor code resolve the clause pertaining to so-called union plurality. They want their own representation at international conventions and at government negotiations. The latter require specific resolutions not only to accommodate yearly contract negotiations and projected long-term economic planning, but also to establish procedures and tenets governing organizations and guaranteeing a decisive influence for trade unions in the

actions of the State Labor Inspectorate, ZUS [Social Security Office] and sanitariums, employee vacation funds, vocational activation funds, employee incentive funds, BHP [work safety and hygiene], ecological conservation funds, and even private garden plot allocations. These most urgent goals are supported by the founders of the nationwide trade union consultation. You have to admit that without jointly held deliberations, individual unions and their federations do not have much of a chance to achieve this.

Up to this point the principles involved are in agreement. Each new arrangement evokes a whole gamut of doubts, fervent emotions and passions. Some of the people are concerned about the urgency of the methods employed in bringing about a nationwide forum, while for some of the others times seem to have gone by faster and they claim that it is high time for a joint authority to be created. Authority? "Never", cry some, "only cooperative representation." "What can any representation be worth if it does not carry proper authority?" others wonder. "Based on relaxed regulations and complacent principles, without any concrete potential for success, it will be as a body without a soul. No one can put limitations on our statutory authority in work places or supraplant structures. We are self-sufficient and independent. Granted, nobody can take this away from us, but we have to provide our future joint representations with a certain authority so that they can avoid bringing into existence another CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions]. There is no support for anything of this sort. After all, a name is not as important as that which is ultimately accomplished. If we select the right people, will we create suitable working conditions for them and provide a proficient system of controls? Agreed, that will be fine, but only on the condition that this will be a public activity, otherwise some of the people may 'become stuck to their chairs' and a struggle for desk jobs will ensure. Why public? Because otherwise it would be, as the saying goes, 'as after work on a free afternoon'? What, then, would such a representation be capable of accomplishing? Do you know to what end public work of this kind leads? Functioning as a permanent post, an indispensable technical-administrative apparatus decides everything independently and frustrates the public workers. This cannot be, etc., etc."

The discussions in Katowice were intensely heated. Not only locally, however; this was also true in 49 provinces over the rest of the country at many of the consultative meetings when fundamentals of the proposed agreement were deliberated. In general, the least was said about the program, either due to the excellence of its propositions or to the general interest in the structural principles of this new body. Heated arguments started taking over when discussions involved the authority and cooperative responsibilities of the signatories. The fervor of arguments concerning provincial commissions for cooperation with trade unions did not diminish for quite a long time. These were considered by some members to be simply unlawful organizations, since there have been no provisions made for their existence in the legislation on unions. Others treated them as a natural phenomenon evolution in the trade union movement which, apart from regulations, is still a reality which deserves to be recognized and accepted into the ranks as a fully adjudicated participant in negotiations. Basically, this last question has not been resolved. It has been agreed, however, that provincial representatives will convene at a nationwide meeting and at the gathering will decide about their right to participate



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PROGRAM TO IMPROVE EDUCATION DESCRIBED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Prof Jan Kostrzewski, president of the Polish Academy of Sciences, by Jerzy Korejwo: "Polish Science 1 Year Before the Congress"]

[Text] In 1 year the anticipated Third Congress of Polish Science will be held. How are preparations proceeding for this forum of science, what will it provide by way of assumptions, and what can already be said concerning its proposed course? These questions were directed to Prof Jan Kostrzewski, Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] president and chairman of the organizational committee, by a PAP reporter.

Perhaps I shall begin by making several general remarks regarding the functions of science in the modern world. Its outright revolutionary development on one hand opens hitherto unattainable opportunities for prosperity and the uncontrolled authority of politicians in some countries places the world under the threat of annihilation, unless the madness of the arms race is restrained. Therefore, before the world of science there stands the difficult and responsible task of opposing military endeavors.

War is indeed the most important but not the only threat to the existence of mankind. Mention should be made of the threat of ecological catastrophe, as well as the issue of population (in the past 35 years the world's population has doubled, and in the year 2000 there will probably be more than 6 billion of us on earth). These are only some of the problems confronting science today and in future years.

How do the problems and outlooks of Polish science appear against this background? It has found itself at an impasse, beset by difficulties of a material and moral nature. In the 1970's efforts to overcome the rising barriers between scientific achievement and technological advancement and applications failed.

In the national economy, the easier method of purchasing licenses abroad was espoused rather than the considerably more difficult one of preparing domestic methods of technological advancement. This also led to passivity on the part of the people of science toward the innovational needs of our economy.

A second reason for the collapse of the program for the development of science in Poland was the limitation on outlays for science. Instead of increasing outlays for science, as stipulated in the resolutions of the Second Congress of Polish Science (I recall that it took place in 1973), they were drastically reduced, especially in the area of purchasing apparatus, instruments, reagents and literature with foreign currency. This was accompanied by growing domestic publishing difficulties and shrinking printing facilities. Recently the flight of scientific workers as well as trained highly specialized technological personnel, and even maintenance crews from scientific plants, constitutes an ever growing threat.

This situation requires rapid and radical decisions. I see here three fundamental courses of action. First, a change is necessary in the system of regulating science and its ties with the development of technology. There now remains in the Sejm the final phase of legislative work on the issue of instituting an efficiently functioning body which is supposed to assure a proper relationship in scientific research with technological advancement and applications. And that is well, because it is already high time for making decisions. After all, the modernization of our production, and therefore also domestic economic policy, depends on the input of scientific thought: we must shift from the policy of exporting basic raw materials to the export of highly processed raw materials and products displaying a substantial input of scientific and technological thought.

Better coordination in basic research, and more reasonable utilization of limited material resources for this research, is also necessary. This is to be served by the creation of a proposed council of basic research that will be subject to the premier and would assure reasonable and equitable allocation of resources for basic research between the scientific plants of higher schools, PAN and institutional departments.

Second, increased outlays for science are urgent: next year in excess of 1.5 percent of national allocable income, beginning with 1986 more than 2 percent, and over 3 percent in 1990. An allocation of foreign exchange resources will also be necessary in satisfactory proportions for the equipping of research workshops, for imported apparatus and literature.

Third, curbing the process of impoverishing science personnel and others occupied in this work is essential. Salaries in the work of science, especially scientific workers, must be above the national average wage.

These are just the most important issues in whose solutions will be found the fate of Polish science. However, the morale of the world of science must prevail over these issues; it must involve itself in solving the difficulties towering before the country, undertake difficult tasks not only in the sphere of strictly cognitive research, but also in research indispensable for the improvement of our economy, research serving society and those factors that will permit us to join in the development of world science and technological advancement. I certainly regard such mobilization of the scientific community as an unusually important task for the opening period of preparations for

next year's Third Congress of Polish Science. I do not conceal that we are witnessing a very difficult period of time, I would say one of psychological and moral crisis.

There are indications of disbelief, the conviction that more than once we have already promised ourselves--and what came of it?... Well, we must overcome these attitudes. I do not wish to resort to big words, speak of zeal, enthusiasm, because this is not the point; we must awaken in ourselves faith in the possibilities of functioning in spite of all the difficulties in which we find ourselves. This--I emphasize--is one of the important tasks among preparations for the congress and its very agenda.

As it appears from accepted assumptions, the congress is supposed to have a working character. It is important to avoid characterizing it with a declaration of attractive programs, but rather with a pragmatic approach; this is essential in order to rescue science from its current very difficult circumstances. The congress is supposed to provide an assessment of the state of Polish science in light of resolutions from the similiar forum of 11 years ago; referring in turn to the future, it will have to select those research directions which will provide fundamental significance to the future development of science and the country--with a special consideration for its social and economic needs. We expect that the congress will provide the opportunity to present the expectations and needs of the economy addressed to the scientific community and also outline the directions of the state's scientific policy to the end of our century.

Some technological-organizational information: the Third Congress of Polish Science will convene in Warsaw, as anticipated, in October of next year. It will draw approximately 1200 participants representing all disciplines and all organizational sectors of Polish science.

One other thing: we attach much significance to involvement in the pregress preparations for all spheres and phases of science.

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## BRIEFS

PLENUM BRIEFING FOR PRESS--On 30 October, the PZPR Central Committee held a meeting between the director of the Central Committee Information Department, Jerzy Majko, and press, radio and television correspondents from socialist countries. The meeting was dedicated to discussion of the course and results of the PZPR Central Committee's 17th Plenum. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 84 p 5] 12261

WARSAW PZPR PLENUM--The subject of a plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee held on 29 October was the problems of Party work in the worker community. The session was opened by Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw Provincial PZPR Committee. Referring to the problems considered during discussion, Politburo member and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Tadeusz Porebski pointed out among other things the need to widely popularize among working people the content and resolutions of the Central Committee's 16th Plenum. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 84 p 5] 12261

DEFENSE AWARDS FOR ACADEMICS--At the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw on 6 November, National Defense Service medals were awarded by the professors: Edzislav Kaczmarek, the academic secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Henryk Cholaj and Saturnin Zawadzki, deputy academic secretaries, Polish Academy of Sciences; and Witold Hensel, secretary of the Academy Department of Social Sciences. On the authorization of the minister of national defense, the medals were given by Brig Gen Rudolf Dzipanow. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 84 p 2] 12261

PZPR CHIEFS LECTURE MEDIA--The PZPR Central Committee held a convocation of the editors-in-chief of the main journals and weekly newspapers, press agencies, radio and television. Discussed were the present social and economic situation in the country, the party's tasks after the Central Committee 17th Plenum and the degree to which this year's economic tasks and the plans of the Central Yearly Plan for 1985 have been realized. The editors were met by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, Chairman of the Central Committee Planning Commission and Vice Premier Manfred Gorywoda, and Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Wladyslaw Ciaston. The tasks of the press, radio and television in realizing the 17th Plenum's resolutions to strengthen the state, develop socialist democracy and firmly establish the rule of law, order and social discipline were presented by deputy Politburo member



and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk. The convocation was directed by the director of the Central Committee Department of Radio, Press and Television, Bogdan Jachacz. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Nov 84 p 2] 12261

NOWE DROGI EDITORIAL POLICY--The editorial advisory board of the PZPR Central Committee's theoretical and political organ, NOWE DROGI, discussed the journal's activities in 1983-1984, which were presented by the editor-in-chief, Stanislaw Wronski. It was said that there had been a positive evolution in the content of the publication. There were proposals to further improve its level of journalism. The session was led by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski. Participants were Politburo member Stanislaw Opalko, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and Bogdan Jachacz, the director of the Central Committee Department of Press, Radio and Television. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Nov 84 p 2] 12261

LECTURE ON GERMAN 'REVISIONISM'--Georg Herde, a West German journalist presently staying in Poland who has for years specialized in the problem of revisionism, gave a lecture at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. The thesis of the lecture was that under the present CDU-liberal government in West Germany, revisionism stemming from the actions of the CDU right wing has once again acquired the rank of state policy that it had during Adenauer's government. Even during the cold war, not as many Bonn ministers took part in revisionist public meetings as have recently. The FRG chief of state, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has already repeatedly honored revanchist congresses and promised to give speeches next year at the congress of Silesians which will be held under the slogan of "40 Years of Expulsion -- Silesia Belongs to Us". The Kohl government has been the first time in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany that a president has taken part in a revisionist congress. G. Herde also emphasized the growing influence of professional revanchists on the central levels of the CDU as well as the number of ministry posts now held by such persons. "It is no exaggeration," he said, "to say that the themes and slogans of the revisionist community have now also been taken up by the Bonn government". [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Nov 84 p 5] 12261

NEW PARTY PR PROJECT--To meet the needs of the public, Legnica Provincial PZPR Committee has initiated a campaign to directly inform inhabitants of the region on the nation and province's current social, economic and political problems. A total of 34 information points were set up on the 22nd of this month in places of work, institutes and among professional counseling centers. These were manned by members of the Legnica PZPR Committee Secretariat, the Presidium of the Provincial People's Council, PRON and representatives of the Provincial Bureau of Internal Affairs, the court and prosecutor's office. Information could be requested in person or by telephone. This initiative has aroused great interest. At the Legnica Provincial Bureau of Internal Affairs, the questions of functionaries were answered by deputy Politburo member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, Marian Orzechowski. In accordance with the Legnica Provincial PZPR Committee's decisions, the "day of information" will now be permanently entered into the calendar of government contracts with society. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Nov 84 p 5] 12261



CHURCH BREAKINS, BURGLARIES--On 20 November, the Munich-based Radio Free Europe broadcasted a speech by Father Stanislaw Ludwiczak on breakins and thefts from churches. He stated that Poland was recently experiencing a wave of cases in which "churches and holy objects are the objects of larceny" and that "the signs of crime are everywhere but that police organizations have never found the perpetrators responsible". He also mentioned a specific case in which a church in the Kuszyn parish was broken into and the police had not found the guilty parties. In response to this news, on 22 November the "Television Journal" [Dziennik Telewizyjny] conducted an interview with Lt Col Jan Plocienniczak of the Criminal Bureau of the Main headquarters, Citizen's Militia. This official reported that the police have recorded about each year about 600 crimes of this type, mainly breakins and larceny, but there have also been serious cases in which valuable items have been stolen and collection boxes have been broken into. About 60 percent of these crimes have been discovered. This is a higher percent than that involving breakins and theft of private property. Lt Col Plocienniczak stressed that, because of the nature of the crime, the theft of a holy object, the police made a greater effort to solve it and the public provided much help in this matter. Parishioners have usually provided much information and name possible suspects. Lt Col Plocienniczak said that the person responsible for the church breakin mentioned in Father Ludwiczak's Radio Free Europe broadcast has already been apprehended. On 5 November, the pastor of this parish **received** stolen items. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Nov 84 p 5] 12261

CSO: 2600/220

SERBIA'S LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ADOPTS STANDS

Draft Positions

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 84 Supplement pp 1-8

[Stands proposed to the Serbian LC Central Committee by its Presidium: "Proposal of Stands of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the Responsibility and Tasks of the Serbian LC in Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management and in Carrying Out the Established Policy"]

[Text] The Central Committee has proceeded on the premise that the socialist, self-management and democratic development of our society is confirmed in real life by the extent to which the workingman's social position is strengthened, by the degree of success in satisfying his economic, political, cultural and other interests, and by the broadening of his freedoms. The League of Communists can perform its leading political-ideological role only in a constant and direct linkage with the working class and the broadest socialist democratic forces, joined together above all in the Socialist Alliance. As the cohesive force and essential factor in the development of socialist self-management, the League of Communists must be in the forefront not only in theory and ideology, but also in social practice, and it must seek and find ever better solutions in realizing the everyday and long-term interests of the working class and the working people and in achieving equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities.

The Serbian LC Central Committee has adopted the following stands:

1. The Serbian LC Central Committee deems it necessary to step up work on improvement of practice and on changes in the political system aimed at further development of the relations of socialist self-management and the delegate system. The changes in the political system must be aimed directly at implementing the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and must guarantee more effective decisionmaking and greater responsibility in carrying out the established policy and decisions at all levels.

The Serbian LC shall energetically oppose ideological tendencies which in the debate on the political system question the very foundations of the system--whether from the positions of restoration of the multiparty system or bureaucratic-statist centralism. Defense of any existing constitutional or legal norm is also unacceptable if practice has not confirmed it.

2. Basic organizations and standing action conferences of the League of Communists are required--together with organizations of the Federation of Trade Unions and the bodies of self-management--to critically assess the present organization of associated labor by mid-1985 and to adopt stands on the necessary changes, mindful of the specific features of particular activities. An organized social campaign needs to be immediately undertaken, above all in the organs of the Federation of Trade Unions, to devise more detailed criteria on these matters that would help workers in making their choices within organizations of associated labor. The position and role of the basic organization of associated labor should be so devised as to guarantee more effective flow of the work process and exercise of the socioeconomic and other self-management rights of the workers.

It is indispensable to reaffirm the work organization as an independent self-managing organization and business entity. It is necessary for the work organization to be based on more fully and specifically stated common interests, functions, rights and responsibilities of the basic organizations of associated labor making it up and on instruments whereby they are effectively attained. There is good reason to further elaborate in that direction legal solutions pertaining to the position and role of basic organizations of associated labor, and in particular to the work organizations and complex organizations of associated labor and to their mutual rights and responsibilities.

3. Communists in organizations of associated labor shall advocate that a reassessment be made of self-management acts and decisionmaking practice in workers' councils of the work organization and complex organization of associated labor so that decisionmaking by the majority is introduced in those cases when decisionmaking by consensus of the delegates of all the basic organizations of associated labor have not been explicitly provided for in the Law on Associated Labor.

Experience points up the need for reassessment of the solutions contained in the Law on Associated Labor pertaining to the group of questions on which decisions are made by referendum or general consensus of all the basic organizations of associated labor so that only the most important would be included (bylaws, self-management accords on entry into association, bases and scales for distribution of funds for personal incomes and social-service expenditure, and the bases of the plan) whereby the inalienable rights of the workers are guaranteed. It is accordingly necessary to broaden essentially application of the principle of decisionmaking by majority vote in the workers' councils of work organizations and complex organizations of associated labor. The role of workers' councils as the highest bodies of self-management needs to be strengthened on that basis and their independent jurisdiction broadened.

The powers of the bodies of self-management and those of professional management need to be precisely delimited in self-management acts; that is, conditions have to be assured so that the professional management can independently and effectively manage the work process and carry out the decisions taken, bearing full responsibility for this to the workers' council and the workers.

4. An increased commitment on the part of the League of Communists, the trade unions and the bodies of self-management should contribute to more complete regulation, achievement and protection of the socioeconomic, employment and other relations and rights of the workers in basic organizations of associated labor. The widespread practice of settling almost every issue in organizations of associated labor through the courts should also thereby be combated by eliminating their causes. On this basis there is a need to reassess the present organization and operation of courts of associated labor and economic courts and to make the appropriate improvements in organization and efficiency.

5. Self-management and forms of organization in local communities should be adapted to a greater degree to the immediate interests and needs of the working people and citizens, consideration being given to the differing level of economic development, urban planning and municipal services of local communities. To that end there is a need to reassess the way they are organized geographically, especially in large urban communities from the standpoint of the common interests of the citizens, to reduce the excessively large number of bodies and entities, to affirm forms in which the working people and citizens vote directly, and to strengthen the direct connection between basic organizations of associated labor and local communities on the basis of common interests.

6. The Serbian LC Central Committee takes the view that delegate assemblies at all levels, in collaboration with organs of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and other sociopolitical organizations, should specifically set forth in annual work plans the most important issues on which broad democratic debate must be conducted. This pertains above all to issues which have an immediate relevance to and influence on the economic position of organizations of associated labor or have exceptional social importance of a broader kind (taxation of the income of the basic organization of associated labor, economic policy and the conditions for conduct of economic activity, the setting aside of funds for investment projects of broad public interest, etc.).

7. Lessons drawn from practice necessitate more practical and effective forms of regular working relationships of delegates and assemblies of high-level sociopolitical communities and self-managing communities of interest with the delegate base. To that end a study should be made of the possibility of performance of the role of a conference of delegations by the respective chamber of the opstina assembly or the basic self-managing community of interest, with the active participation of bodies and entities of the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

It is indispensable to reassess the procedures, makeup, forms of linkage and number of delegations in order to simplify delegate relations and to improve and expedite the work of delegations, as well as to strengthen their support in and relation to workers' councils. An examination should also be made of the possibility of creating a single delegation in basic organizations of associated labor and local communities and of other forms of linkage of delegations and to evaluate the extent to which the workers' council could perform the function of a delegation in certain activities.



8. The League of Communists shall strive for fuller affirmation of the opstina as a self-managing community and as the basic sociopolitical community, for enactment of measures embodying the system and economic policy that will stimulate the development of the opstina as an open community and a factor for broader self-management integration and that will thwart cases of its exclusiveness and autarkic development. All of this necessitates improvement of the self-management and delegate decisionmaking of the working people and citizens within opstinas, better performance of delegate assemblies, essentially greater accountability of executive councils for carrying out policy and enforcing regulations, and more effective social control of the work of administrative, judicial and other bodies.

It is indispensable to strengthen the mutual relations and responsibility through the development of delegate relations and relations among the bodies of opstinas and the Republic and to find more effective legal and political instruments for achieving those relations, especially when it is a question of enforcing laws and carrying out decisions of broad social interest.

Communists must fight for more consistent implementation of the constitutional conception of interopstina regional communities and against tendencies to turn them into sociopolitical communities and to hamper performance of the opstina's functions.

9. It is especially important that the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia devote greater attention to direct oversight of the conduct of policy, the enforcement of statutes, and the performance of executive and administrative agencies, to monitoring the performance of judicial authorities, and to strengthening legality. The Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Serbia ought to be more oriented toward the domain of carrying out the established policy and statutes, coordinating and monitoring the performance of administrative agencies, and should report on this regularly to the Assembly.

10. The Serbian LC Central Committee deems it indispensable that specific political and other measures be taken to democratize personnel policy.

It is the obligation of party members to fight in self-managing organizations and delegate assemblies for regular and democratic assessment of the performance of all those holding social, self-management and professional management positions from the standpoint of their specific contribution, ability and responsibility in carrying out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and other key commitments of the LCY.

There is a need to change the practice of coordinating bodies for personnel policy and to reduce their role to the functions envisaged by social compacts on personnel policy. In order to thwart the informal influence of small groups and individuals on personnel decisions, the organs of sociopolitical organizations are required to ensure democratic consultation on possible candidates for particular positions, insisting consistently on the criterion of proven work qualities, professional qualities and moral and political attributes.



11. Communists shall fight to strengthen collective work and responsibility of all social bodies and organs and their members. It is indispensable to initiate certain normative changes and reconciliation of views in the direction of introducing the 2-year term of office with the possibility of one second term, or the 4-year term of office without the right to succeed oneself, since that solution has proven to be good in opstinas in SR Serbia proper.

12. The Serbian LC Central Committee deems it to be necessary to make changes in the electoral system by mid-1985. The purpose of these changes is to guarantee the following: greater democratization of recordkeeping and nomination procedure; nomination [original reads "recordkeeping"] of multiple candidates for elective office; the creation of electoral units and ballots that will make it possible for the working people and citizens to authentically take part directly in elections, and also for permanent working relations and accountability to be achieved between the delegate and his constituency; simplification of the overcomplicated election procedure, which formalizes elections; a more vigorous and accountable role of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and of the trade unions in the election process; simplification of resignation and recall procedure, and so on. The political activities already begun in the Socialist Alliance of Working People should be continued on that basis so as to arrive at specific proposals for changing election laws and the rules in that sociopolitical organization as well as in the trade unions.

13. Basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists are required to immediately initiate in their respective communities a process whereby specific assessments and measures are drawn up in delegate assemblies by mid-1985 for improved organization of administrative agencies, specialized and other staff services and work communities, and also specific programs drawn up for reducing the number of persons employed in them, accompanied by simultaneous affirmation of work qualities and distribution according to the results of work. Organs of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations shall also have the same task.

Basic organizations and action conferences of the LC within associated labor shall work for adoption of specific measures by the same deadline, i.e., to reduce the number of workers in the management and administration, to eliminate unnecessary and duplicated staff services in work communities within basic organizations of associated labor and work organizations and complex organizations of associated labor, and to do away with small sectors with a large number of management personnel and also the practice of introducing professional management councils in basic organizations of associated labor and small work organizations.

By the end of the coming year those laws and other normative acts which bring about excessive administration and growth of the administrative apparatus need to be revised. There accordingly should be an essential reduction of various records, data and reports, and the demands of government and other agencies and services for them need to be coordinated.

14. Communists who are delegates are required to fight to see that in assemblies the most specific insight is obtained into the operation and competence

of administrative agencies in the enforcement of legal and other regulations, thereby overcoming the practice of formal examination of their annual reports. Delegates of the LC in sociopolitical chambers are required to initiate a critical analysis by mid-1985 of the performance of every administrative agency, above all with respect to carrying out regulations and decisions within its respective work sector. In opstinas this especially applies to those administrative agencies which make direct decisions on the rights and obligations of citizens and organizations of associated labor, which are the inspectorates, revenue administrations, agencies concerned with municipal services, housing and construction affairs and with the economy, as well as staff services of self-managing communities of interest.

The harshest measures must be taken immediately--from removal of office to pronouncement of disciplinary and political-ideological measures--in response to established cases of unconscientious and irresponsible enforcement of legal statutes and decisions of assemblies, or their violation or nonenforcement.

It is indispensable to tighten the accountability of administrative agencies and all institutions with public authority, i.e., of personnel within them, through ongoing critical assessment of their performance and of their attitude toward man and toward his rights and dignity.

There is a need to reassess certain legal provisions concerning the government administration and concerning organizations with public authority (municipal services and so-called large systems) above all with respect to employment relations so as to bring about the introduction of more efficient instruments for work discipline and technological discipline and greater powers of professional managers in undertaking disciplinary and other measures in response to unconscientious and unlawful actions.

15. Communists who are delegates in assemblies of sociopolitical communities and self-managing communities of interest, in conferences of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and the Federation of Trade Unions are hereby required, proceeding on the basis of the ideological concept and the constitutional concept, to speed up efforts to improve socioeconomic relations in communities of interest (especially application of the principle of free exchange of labor, development of self-management planning, elaboration of the principle of gross personal income and discontinuation of the practice of fiscal collection of funds in self-managing communities of interest). The dominant position and influence of the staff services in the activity of self-managing communities of interest is to be overcome through affirmation of the work of delegate assemblies of those communities and the work of their chambers.

More optimum solutions concerning self-management organization based on interest should be sought--consistent with the views being worked out in the federal social councils--in the merger of related self-managing communities of interest, that is, the elimination of those whose existence is not justified, especially in the sphere of physical production and the infrastructure, as well as in linkage and unification of related self-managing communities of interest in the social services. At the same time there is an indispensable need to adopt programs for reducing the number of persons employed and for

unifying specialized functions of groups of self-managing communities of interest.

16. In view of the great weaknesses in the domain of concluding self-management accords and social compacts, in the Serbian Republic Council for Problems of the Social System they should undertake to prepare an analysis of these matters and on that basis propose specific measures to prevent formalization and distortion of their purport and character and to guarantee that they are respected and authentically enforced.

17. The League of Communists of Serbia will work for changes in the economic system and in economic policy--on the foundations of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program--which will remove statist obstacles more rapidly, stimulate self-management integration and strengthen direct collaboration of organizations of associated labor in the domains of the economy, health, education, culture, and so on, in SR Serbia as a whole and throughout the country. To that end the collaboration of opstinas within SR Serbia should also be encouraged.

18. The Serbian LC Central Committee judges that certain important tasks set forth in the Conclusions of the 18th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee have not yet been performed concerning construction of the constitutional status of the Republic and of the socialist autonomous provinces, nor has the unity of the Republic and the fact that the socialist autonomous provinces are part of it managed to be adequately expressed in the practical solutions whereby the constitutional commitments were to be elaborated. That is why it is indispensable to define more precisely relations within SR Serbia as a state and as a self-managing community, the role and jurisdiction of the bodies and agencies of the Republic, and their relations with the bodies and agencies of the socialist autonomous provinces, and to develop a practice that would strengthen unity and community in SR Serbia. Although certain laws which have been passed are being uniformly enforced throughout SR Serbia, it remains an urgent task to work jointly on this with greater vigor and with full responsibility.

19. There is a need to see that the Assembly of SR Serbia enacts laws and other acts in good time, in the manner set forth in the constitution, that would be uniformly applied in SR Serbia, achieving at the same time the full cooperation of the bodies and agencies of the Republic and of the autonomous provinces. It should at the same time be assured that the Assembly of SR Serbia regularly follows up the enforcement of those laws and acts.

The enactment of consensus laws on matters of common interest and all other forms of cooperation in the fields of education, culture, public information and other fields need to be encouraged through the activity of the Serbian LC Central Committee, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the organs of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and those of other sociopolitical organizations.

20. The Serbian LC Central Committee feels that during preparation of the next medium-term plan there should also be a reevaluation of the way funds

from SR Serbia are set aside and used to stimulate the faster development of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo through the Federal Fund as well as supplemental resources for the development of the social services through the federal budget. It is indispensable to reduce the number of intermediaries in the distribution of these funds. Accordingly, the mediation of the Federation is not necessary, since this is a socialist autonomous province which is a part of SR Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia has the greatest interest in its development, as indeed it does in the development of all its other parts. The Republic ought to be economically equipped so that it can carry out a vigorous policy of regional development throughout its entire territory. Associated labor in SR Serbia ought to be the principal vehicle for the policy of the faster development of SAP Kosovo with that portion of resources set aside from its income for that purpose. These funds would be used to encourage organizations of associated labor throughout the republic to make direct ties with associated labor of SAP Kosovo. Self-management integration is one of the most important strategies and decisive ways of authentically improving interethnic relations.

21. Communists in government bodies and agencies in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and especially in administrative agencies and judicial bodies, are required to guarantee the full equality of all citizens in the exercise of their constitutional and legal rights and greater efficiency and promptness in their own work, thereby contributing to prevention of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

22. It is indispensable that an essentially larger contribution be made by the Serbian LC as a whole, by the Serbian LC Central Committee, by the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, as well as by other sociopolitical organizations to building unity and community in SR Serbia. Political agreements are needed on planning and conducting joint efforts and establishment of joint ideological and political approaches in resolving certain outstanding social issues and problems. The League of Communists must fight to combat the resistance to a strengthening of unity in SR Serbia, to eliminate the causes of tendencies toward disintegration, and to fight against statism and bureaucracy of the Republic and the provinces. The League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations cannot stand to one side and wait for the competent government bodies in SR Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces to find the necessary solutions all on their own.

The Serbian LC Central Committee and the provincial committees of Vojvodina LC and Kosovo LC have an obligation to evaluate the implementation of the provisions in the bylaws concerning the unity of the Serbian LC as a whole--within the framework of preparations for the 10th Congress of the Serbian LC and the provincial conferences of the LC.

23. The Serbian LC Central Committee advocates that SR Serbia make a full contribution to advancement of relations in the Federation and for more effective operation of federal bodies and agencies. It is indispensable to make a thorough critical analysis of the participation of SR Serbia in the pursuit of common interests in the Federation. Delegates of the Serbian LC in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of SR Serbia have an obligation to furnish the initiative so that such an analysis is prepared as soon as possible.



In striving for achievement of the constitutional concept of the Federation, the League of Communists of Serbia resolutely rejects any attempt to establish bureaucratic centralism and unitarianism, but it is also against the exclusiveness and statism of the republics and provinces, against particularistic and separatistic tendencies, against cases of a weakening of the role of the Federation and its bodies and agencies, cases of nonenforcement of federal laws, the transformation of federal bodies and agencies into interrepublic committees of a kind, which slows down and blocks the taking and implementation of decisions.

24. Nonimplementation of the constitutional provisions and political commitments concerning the unified Yugoslav market necessitates urgent reassessment and amendments of those laws and other regulations, decisions and patterns of behavior at all levels which are disrupting it, partializing it and protecting the establishment of monopoly positions.

There is a need to eliminate more decisively the obstacles and resistance to the free pooling of labor and capital. A fundamental condition for greater unity of our community lies in the linkage of producers and in the uniformity of the socialist production relation. The Republic and provinces have their important place and role in our system, but the general tendency for economic and social relations to be reconciled and resolved exclusively through them as states must be stopped.

An initiative should be taken immediately to prepare specific proposals for changes in the self-management organization of large systems (the railroads, the postal, telegraph and telephone system, the electric power industry, etc.), which will be based on technical-and-economic unity and will make it possible for them to function effectively and with economic optimality.

25. Broader application of the principle of general consensus outside the framework set forth in the constitution--in preparation and adoption of statutes and in their enforcement--should be frustrated; that is, the principle of decisionmaking by majority vote should be applied when so envisaged by the constitution. Aside from that, the constitutional provisions need to state specifically that in cases when consensus of the republics and autonomous provinces has already been achieved on essential issues in which their equality has been guaranteed, there shall be no new process of reconciliation of views in adoption of the specific statutes by federal bodies when the time comes to elaborate them in specific terms and to implement them.

26. The Serbian LC Central Committee stands for timely adoption of the statutes and measures embodying the system so as to carry out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, since this is a prerequisite for democratic and effective reconciliation of views and decisionmaking on current issues within the bodies of the Federation.

27. Communists who are delegates of the Assembly of SR Serbia in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly shall strive so that that chamber participates in the process of reconciliation of views in good time and with greater vigor. All the chambers of the Assembly of SR Serbia must have



an essential role in preparation of stands for the delegation of SR Serbia in that chamber. When the stands and guidelines for the delegates of SR Serbia in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces are being set forth, sufficient room should also be left in future for democratic reconciliation of interests.

28. Communists who are delegates from SR Serbia in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall strive for that chamber to improve its own operating methods and to prevent the tendency which is turning it into another chamber of republics and provinces with respect to its method of operation. There is a need to reassess the delegate base and the way in which the delegate is elected to that chamber so that his work and decisionmaking are based directly on the interests of working people and citizens, their self-managing organizations and communities, and sociopolitical organizations.

29. The relations established by the constitution in SR Serbia must be taken into account when federal laws are adopted. Cases which completely equate the constitutional position of SR Serbia with the constitutional position of the socialist autonomous provinces are not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution when it is a question of relations which under the constitution of SR Serbia are regulated uniformly for SR Serbia as a whole.

30. The Serbian LC Central Committee judges it to be necessary to create all the political and other conditions for the Federal Executive Council, with full authority and independent responsibility, to perform its role as the political executive organ of the SFRY Assembly. The spread of cases of nonenforcement or selective enforcement of federal statutes should be vigorously opposed and the authority of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies increased in the domain of enforcement of federal statutes.

31. The principle of parity in the bodies and agencies of the Federation as a guarantee of the equality of the republics and provinces must be strictly applied within the limits set by the constitution. There is an urgent need to strengthen the personnel makeup and improve the level of professional competence of all bodies and agencies of the Federation as well as their staff services. A prerequisite for that is a more responsible attitude on the part of the competent bodies of SR Serbia, SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo, as well as the other republics in electing and nominating personnel for those bodies and agencies.

32. The Serbian LC Central Committee feels that the personal accountability of federal officials to the SFRY Assembly and other federal bodies, as set forth in the constitution, should be tightened, and cases of acting on orders from "their own" republics and provinces energetically thwarted.

33. The Serbian LC Central Committee believes that the LCY Central Committee and the republic and provincial LC committees should promptly work out the appropriate political-ideological approaches to various public issues of great importance, thereby contributing more actively to finding solutions in the common interest. That contribution requires consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism at all levels. It is also indispensable that before the 13th LCY Congress a reassessment be made of the manner of

election and method of operation of the LCY Central Committee and of its political executive body.

34. The Serbian LC Central Committee and other leadership bodies in the League of Communists of Serbia must elaborate and introduce as soon as possible changes in the organization and method of operation so as to perform their role primarily within self-managing organizations and communities, sociopolitical organizations and the delegate system. The work programs of organizations and organs of the LC should cover the most important issues that arise in the work of the delegations or assemblies of sociopolitical communities and self-managing communities of interest. That specific range of problems must be the principal source on which the ideological and political stands of the League of Communists are built.

It is indispensable to improve further the method of operation and to strengthen the role of the standing action conferences and other forms of action-related linkage of organizations of the LC toward the end of more effective reconciliation of interests and stands in the process of self-management and delegate decisionmaking and implementation of the decisions taken. In that direction there is a need to reassess and add to the present solutions in the bylaws.

The League of Communists bears special responsibility for improving the work of the sociopolitical chamber as a form of participation of the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations in the assembly system and in work and decisionmaking. On the most important issues being decided in those chambers there is a need to be prompt in working out stands in the bodies of the League of Communists and in the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

35. The Serbian LC Central Committee believes it to be an extremely important task to reaffirm the principle of democratic centralism in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in the League of Communists of Serbia--both in practice and also in the provisions in the bylaws, since this is one of the essential preconditions for development of an economic and political system on the basis of socialist self-management and for attainment of self-management integration of Yugoslav society.

36. Changes in the way party members operate in the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Federation of Trade Unions, the Socialist Youth League and the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War must be expressed in more firmly agreed forms of deliberation of social issues, above all in the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, in better coordination, in avoiding unnecessary duplication and formalized debates, in affirmation of the sections of the Socialist Alliance of Working People in drafting stands and alternatives on matters to be decided in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities and self-managing communities of interest. There is a need to strengthen the personnel composition of the bodies and operating forms of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and to include in them civically involved and capable people from various fields of work and creativity--both members of the LC and those who are not.

Communists will fight in the Socialist Alliance of Working People to develop the practice of regular critical examination of the work of all social, executive, administrative and judicial bodies and organizations of particular social interest and all those holding public office.

37. In the struggle for socialist self-management the League of Communists must affirm science, professional competence and knowledge to a greater degree as an important and integral part of the decisionmaking process in self-management and the delegate system.

38. The Serbian LC Central Committee makes it binding upon organizations and bodies of the League of Communists and individual communists in assemblies of sociopolitical communities and self-managing communities of interest, in the bodies of self-management, in the organs of sociopolitical organizations and in social councils to see that these stands are carried out.

#### Revisions Listed

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 84 p 3

[Excerpts from the stands adopted by the Serbian LC Central Committee]

[Text] The stands proposed concerning the responsibility and tasks of the Serbian LC Central Committee in development of the political system of socialist self-management have in most cases undergone only minor editorial changes. That is why some of them we will only recall, while the two which arouse the most discussion will be given verbatim, since they have been entirely restated. These are the stands pertaining to unity in the Serbian LC and to stimulation of Kosovo's more rapid development.

Changes in the LC: The Serbian LC Central Committee deems it necessary to speed up the effort on improving the practice and accomplishing the necessary changes in the political system aimed at further development of the relations of socialist self-management and the delegate system. The changes in the political system must be aimed directly at carrying out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. The Serbian LC will energetically oppose ideological tendencies which in the debate on the political system call into question the very foundations of the system, whether from positions of restoration of the multiparty system or bureaucratic-statist centralism.

Strengthening the Role of the Work Organization: There is a need to strengthen the constitutional role of the work organization as an independent self-managing organization and as a business entity. The work organization needs to be based on more fully and specifically stated common interests, functions, rights and responsibilities of the basic organizations of associated labor making it up. Legal solutions pertaining to the position and constitutional role of basic organizations of associated labor and particularly the work organization and complex organization should be revised along those lines.

Powers: There is a need to precisely delineate in self-management acts the powers of the bodies of self-management and those of professional management,

to guarantee conditions so that the professional management independently and effectively manages the work process and carries out the decisions taken, bearing full accountability for this before the workers' council and the workers.

**Self-Management:** Self-management and forms of organization in local communities should be adapted to a greater degree to the immediate interests and needs of the working people and citizens, consideration being given to the differing level of economic development, urban planning and municipal services of local communities.

**The Delegate System:** The delegate assemblies at all levels, in collaboration with the organs of the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations, should specifically set forth in annual plans the most important issues on which broad democratic debate must be conducted.

**Elections:** There is a need to initiate certain normative changes and adjustments in the direction of introducing the 2-year term of office with the possibility of one additional term or the 4-year term of office without the right of serving another successive term.

**Relations in SR Serbia:** The fight for the relations of equality among the nationalities and ethnic minorities in SR Serbia and for the unity of the Republic is a lasting task of all the organized socialist forces in the Republic. The Serbian LC should also pay full attention to performance of this task in the coming period.

The Central Committee judges that several good results have been achieved in implementing the Conclusions of the 18th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee on constructing the constitutional status of the Republic and the socialist autonomous provinces. However, certain important tasks set forth in those conclusions have not yet been performed, nor has the unity of the Republic or the fact that the socialist autonomous provinces are part of it been expressed sufficiently in the various practical solutions. That is why it is necessary to build and define more precisely relations in SR Serbia as a state and as a self-managed community, the role and jurisdiction of the bodies and agencies of the Republic, their relations with the bodies and agencies of the socialist autonomous provinces, and to develop a practice which will strengthen unity and community in SR Serbia. Although certain important laws uniformly applied on the territory of SR Serbia, this will continue to be an urgent task on which a more vigorous joint effort needs to be made with full responsibility.

**Kosovo's Development:** The Serbian LC Central Committee makes it the duty of communists to encourage the process of pooling labor and capital of organizations of associated labor in SR Serbia with organizations of associated labor of SAP Kosovo so as to directly contribute thereby to the faster economic development of Kosovo and to strengthening the unity of the working class and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. SR Serbia has special obligations and responsibilities with respect to the socioeconomic development of SAP Kosovo as its component. The League of Communists of Serbia



will endeavor within the Yugoslav framework to reinforce the effort for faster development of SAP Kosovo through the Fund and through direct pooling.

The Serbian LC Central Committee takes the view that during preparation of the next medium-term plan a reassessment should be made of the present procedure for setting aside and using funds from SR Serbia to stimulate the faster development of SAP Kosovo and also the supplemental funds for development of the social services. The size of the obligations of all the republics and Vojvodina for the development of Kosovo, in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, should be fixed at the federal level, but the funds which organizations of associated labor in SR Serbia set aside should be channeled through the direct relationship with organizations of associated labor of SAP Kosovo, since this is a socialist autonomous province which is a part of SR Serbia, and the Socialist Republic of Serbia has the greatest interest in its development as well as in the development of all its other parts. The economic and social conditions would be created thereby for SR Serbia to conduct a vigorous policy of development throughout its entire territory. Associated labor in SR Serbia should be the principal vehicle of the policy of faster development of SAP Kosovo with respect to that portion of the funds allocated from its income for that purpose. The purpose of this proposal is to contribute to the advancement of interethnic relations and to overcome statist divisions.

This proposal is to be comprehensively discussed in the coming period so as to examine all its social and organizational aspects and to avert possible misunderstandings.

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CSO: 2800/100



## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

APPEARANCE BY MME. BROZ--Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 6 December 1984 carries on page 3 an unsigned item on a visit by the widow Jovanka Broz to cultural and historical monuments and institutions in the town of Vrsac, Vojvodina Province, Serbia. Mme Broz is said to have spent most of her time in Vrsac in viewing the restored inn and gallery of frescoes and art works within the monastery of Mesic; she also toured the episcopal palace and an open-air exhibit of contemporary sculpture in the center of town. A three-column photograph shows Mme Broz standing in front of the entrance to the episcopal palace with a group of persons including a white-haired ecclesiastic, six middle-aged women, a man in civilian clothes, and a younger priest, all unidentified. Mme Broz gives the impression of holding a document in front of her. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2800/123

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JAN 24, 1985